

PEASANT
AND
EMPIRE

In Christian North Africa



LESLIE DOSSEY



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

PEASANT
AND
EMPIRE

In Christian North Africa



LESLIE DOSSEY



PEASANT
AND
EMPIRE

In Christian North Africa



LESLIE DOSSEY





In honor of beloved Virgil—

“O degli altri poeti onore e lume . . .”

—Dante, *Inferno*

The publisher gratefully acknowledges the generous contribution to this book provided by the Classical Literature Endowment Fund of the University of California Press Foundation, which is supported by a major gift from Joan Palevsky.

The publisher also gratefully acknowledges the generous contribution to this book provided by Loyola University Chicago.

Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE CLASSICAL HERITAGE

Peter Brown, General Editor

- Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*, by Sabine G. MacCormack I
Synesius of Cyrene: Philosopher-Bishop, by Jay Alan Bregman II
Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity, by Kenneth G. Holum III
John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century, by Robert L. Wilken IV
Biography in Late Antiquity: The Quest for the Holy Man, by Patricia Cox V
Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt, by Philip Rousseau VI
Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, by AV Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein VII
Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul, by Raymond Van Dam VIII
Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition, by Robert Lamberton IX
Procopius and the Sixth Century, by Averil Cameron X
Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity, by Robert A. Kaster XI
Civic Coins and Civic Politics in the Roman East, A.D. 180–275, by Kenneth Harl XII
Holy Women of the Syrian Orient, introduced and translated by Sebastian Brock and Susan Ashbrook Harvey XIII
Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection, by Carole Straw XIV
“Apex Omnium”: Religion in the “Res gestae” of Ammianus, by R. L. Rikks XV
Dioscorus of Aphroditto: His Work and His World, by Leslie S. B. MacCormack XVI
On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity, by Michele Renee Salzman XVII
Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and “The Lives of the Eastern Saints,” by Susan Ashbrook Harvey XVIII
Barbarians and Politics at the Court of Arcadius, by Alan Cameron XIX
 Jacqueline Long, with a contribution by Lee Sherry
Basil of Caesarea, by Philip Rousseau XX
In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The Panegyrici Latini, introduction, translation, and historical commentary by C. E. V. Nixon and Barbara Saylor Rodgers XXI
Ambrose of Milan: Church and Court in a Christian Capital, by Neil McLynn XXII
Public Disputation, Power, and Social Order in Late Antiquity, by Richard Lim XXIII

- The Making of a Heretic: Gender, Authority, and the Priscillian Controversy*, by Virginia Burrus ~~XXIV~~
- Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's "Life" and the Late Antique City*, by Derek Krueger ~~XXV~~
- The Shadows of Poetry: Vergil in the Mind of Augustine*, by ~~Sabine~~ MacCormack ~~XXVI~~
- Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems*, by Dennis E. Trout ~~XXVII~~
- The Barbarian Plain: Saint Sergius between Rome and Iran*, by ~~Elizabeth~~ Key Fowden ~~XXVIII~~
- The Private Orations of Themistius*, translated, annotated, and introduced by Robert J. Penella ~~XXIX~~
- The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Antiquity*, by Georgia Frank ~~XXX~~
- Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity*, edited by Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau ~~XXXI~~
- Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium*, by Glenn Peers ~~XXXII~~
- Wandering, Begging Monks: Social Order and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity*, by Daniel Folger Caner ~~XXXIII~~
- Failure of Empire: Valens and the Roman State in the Fourth Century*, by Noel Lenski ~~XXXIV~~
- Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages*, by Bonnie Effros ~~XXXV~~
- Quaayr 'Amra: Art and the Umayyad Elite in Late Antique Syria*, by ~~Elizabeth~~ Fowden ~~XXXVI~~
- Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in the Age of Transition*, by Claudia Rapp ~~XXXVII~~
- Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity*, by Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony ~~XXXVIII~~
- There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire*, by Michael Gaddis ~~XXXIX~~
- The Legend of Mar Qardagh: Narrative and Christian Heroism in Late Antique Iraq*, by Joel Thomas Walker ~~LXX~~
- City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*, by Edward J. Watts ~~XL~~
- Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination*, by Susan Ashbrook Harvey ~~XL~~
- Man and the Word: The Orations of Himerius*, edited by Robert J. Penella ~~XLIII~~
- The Matter of the Gods*, by Clifford Ando ~~XLIV~~
- The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship between Rome and Sasanian Iran*, by Matthew P. Canepa ~~XLV~~
- Riot in Alexandria: Tradition and Group Dynamics in Late Antique Egypt and Christian Communities*, by Edward J. Watts ~~XLVI~~
- Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa*, by Leslie Dossey ~~XLVII~~

Peasant and Empire in Christian North Africa

Leslie Dossey



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

Berkeley Los Angeles London

University of California Press, one of the most distinguished university presses in the United States, enriches lives around the world by advancing scholarship in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. Its activities are supported by the UC Press Foundation and by philanthropic contributions from individuals and institutions. For more information, visit www.ucpress.edu.

University of California Press Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd. London, England

© 2010 by The Regents of the University of California

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dossey, Leslie, 1968-

Peasant and empire in Christian North Africa / Leslie Dossey.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-520-25439-8 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Africa, North—History—To 647. 2. Donatists. 3. Consumption (Economics)—Social aspect. 4. Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo. 5. Preaching—History—Early church, ca. 30–600. 6. Church history—Primitive and early church, ca. 30–600. 7. Rome—Economic conditions—30 B.C.-476 A.D. 8. Rome—Provinces—Administration. 9. Rome—History—Empire, 284–476. 10. Byzantine Empire—Social conditions. I. Title.

HD1538.A355D67 2010

305.5'6330939709015—dc22

2009049419

Manufactured in the United States of America

19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is printed on Cascades Enviro 100, a 100% post consumer waste, recycled, deinked fiber. FSC recycled certified and processed chlorine free. It is acid free, Ecologo certified, and manufactured by BioGas energy.

To David

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

Introduction

1. Historical Overview

PART ONE. THE MAKING OF THE PEASANT CONSUMER

2. Rural Consumption in Early Imperial North Africa

3. A Late Antique Consumer Revolution?

PART TWO. THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNITY

4. Frustrated Communities: The Rise and Fall of the Self-Governing Village

5. Bishops Where No Bishops Should Be: The Phenomenon of the Rural Bishopric

PART THREE. PREACHING AND REBELLION

6. Preaching to Peasants

7. Reinterpreting Rebellion: Textual Communities and the Circumcellions

Conclusion

Appendix. The Identifiable Rural Bishoprics

Notes

Bibliography

Index

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

1. El Alia, Nilotic mosaic (Panel 2)
2. El Alia, Nilotic mosaic (Panel 1)
3. Carthage, Dominus Julius mosaic
4. Thugga, Slaves serving wine mosaic
5. Carthage Survey
6. Segermes Survey
7. Thugga Survey
8. Sufetula Survey
9. Libyan Valleys Survey
10. Pottery in the Libyan Valleys Survey
11. Fineware at Villages in the Segermes Survey
12. Kiln Production and Sites with Fineware in Byzacena
13. Coins Found at Tiddis

TABLES

1. Size of sites with imperial fineware in the Segermes Survey, 1–250 C.E.
2. Size of sites with 1+ sherds in the Carthage Survey, 1–250 C.E.
3. Size of sites with imperial fineware in the Libyan Valleys Survey, 50–250 C.E.
4. Imperial fineware distribution in selected wadis in the Libyan Valleys Survey, 50–250 C.E.
5. Imperial fineware distribution in the Caesarea Survey, 1–250 C.E.
6. Imperial fineware distribution in the Segermes Survey, 1–250 C.E.
7. Vessels in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*
8. Size of late Roman sites in the Segermes Survey, 300–550 C.E.
9. Fineware distribution in the Segermes Survey, 1–300 C.E.

10. Fineware distribution in the Segermes Survey, 300–650 C.E.
11. Fineware distribution in the Caesarea Survey, 1–300 C.E.
12. Fineware distribution in the Caesarea Survey, 300–600 C.E.
13. Fineware distribution in the Libyan Valleys Survey, 50–600 C.E.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A project that has taken this long to complete accumulates a lot of debts. I would like to thank, above all, my PhD adviser, Michael McCormick, Harvard University, who has given me insightful advice and unswerving support over the years. I am also grateful to the other readers of the original dissertation, Christopher Jones and Thomas Bisson, Harvard University, for their important feedback. Susan Stevens of Randolph College, Yizhar Hirschfeld (R.I.P.) of the Hebrew University, and the San Vincenzo team of the British School at Rome gave me the opportunity to try my hand at excavation and the interpretation of archaeological data. I owe special thanks to Susan Stevens for teaching me the difficulties of archaeological survey by assigning me the transect that went through the prickly pear cactus. Fellowships from Dumbarton Oaks and Harvard University provided the time and intellectual exchange to finish the original dissertation. The American Academy in Rome and my home institution, Loyola University of Chicago, gave me a year's leave and a semester of reduced teaching to revise the manuscript. Alan Zola and Thomas Greene, PhD students at Loyola University, helped check citations. Alan also spent many hours editing and reformatting the manuscript and helped me correct a number of errors, although those remaining are my own responsibility of course. Other individuals whose suggestions and expertise have assisted me greatly are my colleague at Loyola Barbara Rosenwein, Jane Bestor, Jean-Pierre Sodini, Philip Grierson (RIP), Ann Marie Yasin, Elizabeth Fentress, Archer Martin, Peter Brown, and four anonymous readers of the manuscript. The graduate students at Loyola University helped me clarify many of my ideas in seminars. My thanks to the many dedicated librarians at Widener Library, Dumbarton Oaks, the American Academy in Rome, the University of Chicago, and Loyola University, who make this sort of research possible. The book is dedicated to my husband, David Bush, who has had to hear more about North African peasants than anybody should be expected to.

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations in the text and bibliography follow the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* for most Latin texts, Frede (1995) for the anonymous patristic texts, and *L'année philologique* for the journals. The exceptions are listed below.

BAFSSnd, J., et al., eds. *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur*. Antwerp, 1643–.

AEnnée épigraphique. Paris, 1888–.

Anthologia latina. Ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Leipzig, 1981.

Augustine*Epistolae i*–29*. Ed. J. Divjak. In *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin*, vol. 46B, *Lettres 1*–29**. Paris, 1987. Also edited in CSEL 88 (these letters are marked with *).

AugustineSermones Denis. Ed. G. Morin. In *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, 1: 11–164. Rome, 1930.

AugustineSermones Dolbeau. Ed. F. Dolbeau. In *Augustin d'Hippone: Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*. Paris, 1996.

AugustineSermones Guelf. Ed. G. Morin. PLS 2: 536–657.

AugustineSermones Lambot. Ed. C. Lambot. PLS 2: 415–17, 744–834, and 839–40.

AugustineSermones Mai. Ed. A. Mai. PLS 2: 443–528.

BAHlletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques. 1885–; nouv. sér., vols. 8–20/21, 1975–89; nouv. sér., Afrique du nord, 1989–. Paris.

BHLibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis. Ed. Socii Bollandiani. Subsidia Hagiographica 6 (1898), 12 (1911), and 70 (1986).

CSLus christianorum, Series latina. Turnhout, 1953–.

CIpus inscriptionum latinarum. Berlin, 1893–.

Concilia Africae (a. 345–525). Ed. Ch. Munier. CCSL 149. Turnhout, 1974.

CSELus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum. Vienna, 1866–.

Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes. Ed.

T. Mommsen and P. Meyer. 2nd ed. Berlin, 1954.

DAGFillard, A., A. Meyer, and R. Aubert, eds. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. Paris, 1912–.

- Mommensen, T., ed. *Corpus iuris civilis*. Vol. 1, *Digesta*. Berlin, 1880–95.
- Ferrandus, C. *Proviatio canonum*. CCSL 149. Turnhout, 1974.
- Ferrandus, V. *Vita Fulgentii*. Ed. G. Lapeyre. In *Saint Fulgence de Ruspe*. Paris, 1929.
- Fulgentius of Ruspe. *Sermones viii*. Ed. J. Fraipont. CCSL 91A: 889–942. Turnhout, 1968.
- Garnier, S., ed. *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*. Sources chrétiennes 194, 195, 224. Paris, 1972–76.
- Garnier, R., A. Merlin, and L. Chatelain, eds. *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique*. Paris, 1923.
- Gsell, S., ed. *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*. Tome 1. Paris, 1922.
- Hugonin, H.-G., ed. *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*. Tome 2, pt. 1, 2, and 3. Paris, 1957, 1976, and 2003.
- Desau, H., ed. *Inscriptiones latinae selectae*. Berlin, 1892–1916.
- Méunier, A., ed. *Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie*. Paris, 1944.
- Antonini Augusti. Ed. O. Cuntz. In *Itineraria romana*, vol. 1. 1929. Reprint, Stuttgart, 1990.
- Mastino, A. *Meda L'Africa romana: Atti del V convegno di studio, Sassari, 11–13 dicembre 1987*. Sassari, 1988.
- Mastino, A. *Meda L'Africa romana: Atti del VI convegno di studio, Sassari, 16–18 dicembre 1988*. Sassari, 1989.
- Goffredo, J. *Meda L'Africa romana: Le ricchezze dell'Africa; Risorse, produzioni, scambi; Atti del XVII convegno di studio, Sevilla, 14–17 dicembre 2006*. Rome, 2009.
- Mommsen, T. *Germaniae historica*. *Autores antiquissimi*. Berlin, 1877–1919.
- Epulae. Berlin, 1889–.
- Blotz, A., ed. *Prosopographie de l'Afrique chrétienne (303–533)*. Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire, vol. 1. Paris, 1982.
- Blotz, C., and L. Pietri, eds. *Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313–604)*. Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire, vol. 2. Rome, 2000.
- Migne, J. P., ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*. Paris, 1857–86.
- Migne, J. P., ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*. Paris, 1844–91.
- Hannan, A., ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina, Supplementum*. 5 vols. Paris, 1958–75.
- Possidius. *Opera S. Augustini elenchus*. Ed. A. Wilmart. In *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, 2: 149–233. Rome, 1931.
- Possidius. *Vita Augustini*. Ed. M. Pellegrino. In *Vita di S. Agostino*. Verba seniorum 4. Alba, 1955.
- Sources chrétiennes. Paris, 1941–.
- Albertini, L. Leschi, C. Perrat, and C. Saumagne, eds. *Tablettes Albertini: Actes privés de l'époque vandale*. Paris, 1952.
- Victor of Tonnacensis. *Continuatio prosperi*. Ed. T. Mommsen. MGH, AA 11

= *Chronica minora* 2: 184–206. Berlin, 1892/1898.

Victor Vitensis. *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*. Ed. M. Petschenig. CSEL 7: 3–107. Vienna, 1881.

Weber, V. “Die Texte der als Zeugnisse für die Existenz von Kolonen behandelten Inschriften.” In *Die Kolonen in Italien und den westlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches*, ed. K.-P. Johne, J. Köhn, and V. Weber, 355–414. Berlin, 1983.



FIGURE 1. El Alia, Nilotic mosaic (Panel 2). Bardo Museum, Tunis. Photograph © Nicolas Fauqué / www.imagesdetunisie.com.

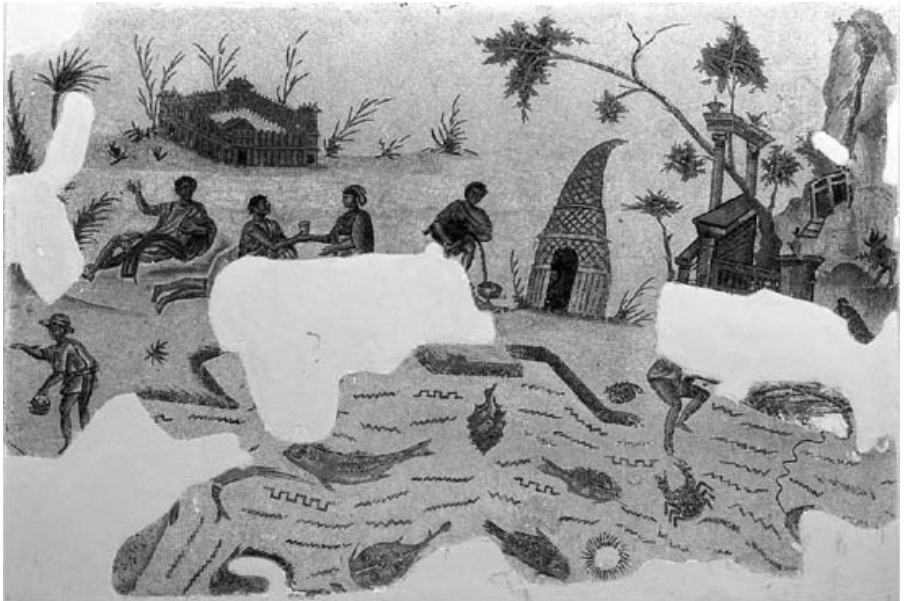


FIGURE 2. El Alia, Nilotic mosaic (Panel 1). Bardo Museum, Tunis. Photograph © Nicolas Fauqué / www.imagesdetunisie.com.



FIGURE 3. Carthage, Dominus Julius mosaic. Bardo Museum, Tunis. Photograph © Nicolas Fauqué / www.imagesdetunisie.com.

of roses, a lamb, a basket of grapes, a rabbit, a basket of fish. In other scenes, peasants perform acts of personal service—a man carries baggage for his master, who rides before him on a horse; another carries the nets for a hunt, a servant girl hands jewelry to her mistress. The master, in the midst of all of this, sits upright in near-imperial splendor. His person and dwelling are more prominent than in the second-century mosaic, and the subordination of the workers more explicit. What is perhaps not as immediately obvious is how much better the peasants are dressed. They wear clothes that are tailored, not girded, and decorated with vertical *clavi* and rondels. The peasant man who brings ducks to his mistress wears closed shoes and tights; his cloak is dyed blue and clasped with a brooch. His wife wears shoes and a tailored long-sleeved dress decorated with broad *clavi* down the front and on the wrists. The servant girl has styled hair and earrings. These peasants look, for all their servility, more like North African townspeople than the barefoot, half-naked farm laborers of the second century.³ On the one hand, the late imperial mosaic seems to express a certain uneasiness about the rural population—depicting the working population in acts of subordination rather than involved in productive work, a villa that looks like a fortress, a landlord who rides or sits upright rather than one who reclines. Meanwhile, the peasants look richer than they ever had been before.

This book seeks to explore the sources of both this prosperity and uneasiness. Other signs of anxiety about the peasantry are not hard to find. At the time that Julius commissioned the second mosaic for his mansion in Carthage, North Africa was experiencing something like a peasant rebellion. These rebels were referred to in the ancient sources as *circumcelliones*. Etymologically, the term appears to mean “those who travel around the *cellae*” (rural storage areas for grain or other produce).⁴ Associated with the schismatic Donatist church, the peasant rebels were accused of attacking creditors, landlords, and imperial officials, as well as, more commonly, the Catholic clergy.

It is the social revolutionary aspect of the circumcellions that has most caught historians’ attention. Optatus, the Catholic bishop of the Numidian town of Milev, who first mentioned them, set the tone. According to him, two Donatists with the African names of Axido and Fasir, who called themselves “the generals of the saints” (*sanctorum duces*), instigated the first circumcellion uprising ca. 340 C.E.. Their victims were creditors and slave owners: “No one was permitted to be secure on his own estates; the signatures of debtors lost their value; no creditor at that time had freedom to exact payment; all were terrified by the letters of those who claimed that they were the generals of the saints.” This was truly a “world turned upside down.” “The position between masters and slaves was reversed”: masters riding in their carriages were forced to change places with their slaves and run along side the horses in the servile manner portrayed on Roman mosaics.⁵ At the Donatist bishops’ own request, an imperial military contingent was sent to the rural

marketplaces where the circumcellions were raging.⁶ At one village, the soldiers killed and dismembered many men. Afterward, their bodies (or, rather, body parts) could be found treated as martyrs at the village shrines.

Less than ten years after the defeat of Axido and Fasir, circumcellions once again came into conflict with the imperial military, this time in the Numidian town of Bagai. According to Optatus, the Donatist bishop of Bagai had sent heralds through the villages and rural markets “where circumcellions were accustomed to gather” to summon them to help him resist an attempt by imperial officials to distribute charity.⁷ The officials were sufficiently worried about potential violence that they asked for a military escort. When they entered Bagai, they found the circumcellions gathered around the church. Some of the crowd attacked the soldiers. The enraged soldiers (“whose officers were unable to restrain them”) responded by killing many men, including the bishop.

Catholic bishops of the later fourth and early fifth centuries continued to emphasize how the actions of the circumcellions represented sedition against authority in general, not just hostility toward themselves. When the bishop of Carthage asked the proconsul of Africa for governmental aid to force the Donatists to court, he included a description of the “insane circumcellions” defending their supposed rights contrary to the public peace (*publica quies*).⁸ Augustine of Hippo narrated how the circumcellions were arming themselves against the “public laws” and inciting audacious rustics to rise up against their landlords.⁹ Peasant women “who refused to have husbands lest they have discipline” were joining these wandering bands.¹⁰ His most extended piece of invective was to the imperial official Boniface in 416/17. In order to persuade Boniface to continue a policy of repression against the Donatists, Augustine recalled how things used to be when the Donatists still had power. Masters had feared their slaves, landlords their tenants. Taxes could not be collected, because officials dared not oppose the rabble. No one could call on the laws without being threatened by the rods and swords of a rustic mob.¹¹

Such invective has fueled a large body of scholarship on the circumcellions, which has characterized them as everything from Berber nationalists fighting imperial Roman rule to peasant revolutionaries engaging in class conflict against their landlords to agonistic monks attempting to create the kingdom of Christ on earth.¹² The recent trend has been to deny their existence as a “peasant” movement altogether—to emphasize that Roman society was characterized by vertical rather than horizontal links and that what tied groups like the circumcellions together was religion, not class.¹³ Any elements of social rebellion derive from the polemical nature of our sources rather than the original events.¹⁴ These Catholic bishops—good rhetoricians all—were exaggerating, twisting, perhaps even fabricating, the original incidents to make them seem as offensive as possible to the authorities of the time.

This last point is certainly true. The polemical nature of our sources does

not, however, make the evidence worthless, rather the opposite. As Natalie Davis (1990) has shown for petitions for pardon in sixteenth-century France, the lies people tell to gain the favor of those in authority can reveal interesting things about the anxieties of an era. It is interesting that Optatus and Augustine assumed their audience would think that the circumcellions *could have existed*, that they were sufficiently familiar with the topos of rural rebellion that it could become an effective polemical tool—for it proved to be an effective tool. The Catholic invective against the Donatists was reflected in imperial edicts—an edict of 405, for example, castigated Donatist priests, “turbatores quietis,” for gathering popular mobs for the purpose of “sedition.”¹⁵ The eventual suppression of the Donatist church was in large measure a triumph of the Catholics’ skill at portraying the rival church as the fomentor of social disorder and rebellion. The circumcellions may not have been real, but the fear of them was.

In addition, if we examine other literature of the fourth and fifth centuries, we see that the rebellious peasant does not surface only in the context of religion.¹⁶ An anonymous military treatise, written for imperial circles in the late fourth century, described generalized violence among the poor brought about by the coinage “reforms” of Constantine:

They often inflicted the most severe injuries on the empire, laying waste the fields, breaking the peace with outbursts of brigandage, stirring up animosities; and, passing from one crime to another, supported usurpers.¹⁷

This sort of reference to the criminality of the peasant occurs almost incidentally in late Roman sources. A sermon of John Chrysostom advised landlords to build churches on their estates, so that their peasants would not fall into murder, theft, or other crime.¹⁸ The rhetorician Libanius of the late fourth century described such “peasants turned brigands” in the area of Antioch, who were looting cattle, raping women, and feasting. In one case, they even stoned decurions who tried to collect the taxes.¹⁹ The best-known example of peasant brigands is the Bagaudae, who laid waste to the countryside of Gaul under Diocletian, and then, over a century later, were accused supporting usurpers and troubling landlords in Gaul and northern Spain.²⁰ Although there has been a scholarly tendency to gentrify the Bagaudae, they were characterized in the fourth-century sources as “bands of peasants and thieves” and “rustics.”²¹

The authors of this period even anachronistically inserted the rebellious rustic into histories of previous usurpations. The notoriously unreliable *Historia Augusta*, written in the late fourth century C.E. by a non-Christian of senatorial sympathies, does so in its retelling of the North African rebellion of 238 C.E., which plunged the Roman Empire into fifty years of civil war.²² The author’s source for these events was the third-century Greek historian Herodian, who had been an official of the imperial court at the time.²³ In Herodian’s account, some rich young men from the Carthaginian aristocracy,

resentful of imperial confiscations, had assassinated an imperial procurator.²⁴ Afterward, in order to escape punishment, the young men approached the proconsul of Africa, Gordian, and hailed him as Augustus.²⁵ The *Historia Augusta* followed Herodian in the basic outline of events but made significant changes in the parties who instigated the rebellion. An alliance of rustics and soldiers killed the procurator, not noble young landlords from Carthage.²⁶ Landholding decurions involved themselves only afterward to defend the public order, so that “the sedition that had arisen between the supporters of Maximinus (the emperor) and the rustics and Africans could be put down.”²⁷ In the end, it was a motley crowd of rustics and plebeians on an estate who acclaimed their proconsul (who was not present) as the new Roman emperor.²⁸ As history, this is, of course, ridiculous. Nevertheless, these changes are symbolic of an important shift in the perception of the seditious element in Roman society—from well-off provincials to the rustic.

The perceived rebelliousness of the rustic is the starting point of this book. I use the word “perceived” because, with the possible exception of the Bagaudae, there is no evidence for large-scale, organized peasant rebellion in the late Roman Empire. Acts of violence, when (and if) they happened, were isolated, small-scale, and easily suppressed. The urban poor were a far greater threat, as the numerous “riots” that accompanied food shortages, religious controversies, and episcopal elections attest.²⁹ There was, however, a *perception* that the peasants, the rustics, “the lowest sorts of men,” were potentially rebellious. And this perception was a new thing for the Roman Empire. Roman authors of the Principate had not used the stereotype of the rebellious peasant to vilify their enemies or spice up their historical narratives; authors of late antiquity did. The object of this book is to explain why.

That being said, very little of this book is about peasant violence, perceived or otherwise. Nor is it a rehash of the traditional explanations for peasant unrest in the late empire, such as economic distress or social and political oppression. Although poverty and inequality doubtless existed—and had long existed—in the Roman provinces, other periods of history have suggested that these are seldom in themselves sufficient reason for the degree of uneasiness displayed in late antique sources. Peasant unrest is as likely to occur in times of increasing prosperity as economic crisis, especially when increasing prosperity is associated with a shift toward wage labor and market expansion.³⁰ What causes social tensions is often not the appearance of new grievances, but rather a new ability to articulate grievances in ways those in power find difficult to ignore. This can happen when a rise in literacy, including aural “literacy” communicated by preachers, brings previously excluded populations into contact with canonical texts.³¹ Recent work on rural monetization, settlement expansion, and popular preaching in late antiquity suggests that these approaches might be fruitful for understanding peasant unrest in this period. So rather than concentrate on (reputed) acts of rebellion, I have cast my net wide to include changes in rural consumption, the

transformation of communal structures, and the impact of Christian preaching between the third and sixth centuries C.E.

The sources for a study of this kind are, of course, problematic. Despite a rich epigraphic record from North Africa, little of it relates to the rural populations. Even in the late Roman period, when texts discussing peasants become more common, the sources leave something to be desired. Most of our evidence falls into the category of what James Scott has characterized as “public transcripts” of power relations, or accounts “mediated by the interpretation of the dominant elites”—as opposed to “hidden transcripts,” or the opinions of the peasants themselves.³² Such public transcripts are not necessarily hostile toward their subject. Rustics are as likely to be idealized as demonized. The subservient, well-dressed peasants bringing their landlord gifts in the Julius Dominus mosaic, or the frightened rustics cowering in their landlord’s tower, more than balance out the rustic assassins in the *Historia Augusta* or those peasant nuns “who refused to have husbands lest they have discipline.”³³ Whether hostile or not, the propertied and powerful authors of these descriptions judged people by how well they accommodated themselves to the social order of their times. They do not provide the peasants’ own perspective of their world.

Given the nature of the traditional sources, this book adduces two new types of evidence—archaeology and anonymous Christian sermons—which, for different reasons, get us closer to ordinary people. In recent years, excavations of nonelite sites such as villages and farms have begun to be published, although not in as great a number as one might wish.³⁴ More significantly, the past quarter century has witnessed several hundred archaeological surveys of the former provinces of the Roman Empire whose express purpose is to reconstruct rural settlement patterns.³⁵ For western North Africa, there have been surveys in the regions of Carthage, Bulla Regia, Sufetula, Cillium, Segermes, Thugga, Jerba, Caesarea Mauretaniae, Belezma, Volubilis, Leptiminus, Thapsus, and the Tripolitanian predesert.³⁶ In contrast to Europe, North Africa’s arid climate has frequently left ancient architectural remains visible from the surface, so that even noninvasive surveys provide valuable information about vernacular architecture, building materials, irrigation systems, and, of course, pottery.

The hundreds of anonymous sermons that survive from Latin North Africa constitute a second new body of evidence. These sermons have been transmitted to us under the names of Augustine, Fulgentius, John Chrysostom, and other church fathers, although scholars have long ago disproved their authenticity. Only recently have critical editions of the Old Latin Bible (*Vetus Latina*) allowed some of them to be identified as North African.³⁷ One of the most spectacular discoveries is an entire liturgical cycle of sermons by a Donatist preacher of the early fifth century.³⁸ These sermons give us an idea of the type of preaching heard by rural populations—not because the authors were themselves rural clergy but because many of the sermons were originally

collected for use by parish priests.

Making use of these as well as more traditional sources, I argue that what was happening in the countryside was a greater resemblance between rural and urban populations, both in terms of material culture and religious ideology. [Part 1](#) of this book ([chapters 1 and 2](#)) examines how glossy red pottery and other forms of “Romanized” material culture became common on the small farms and in the villages of North Africa only in the fourth to early sixth century C.E. Using data from recent archaeological surveys in conjunction with written sources, I contend that the first three centuries of Roman rule brought economic disruption for much of the population. It is only in the fourth and fifth centuries that we find a diffusion of Roman-style commodities (pottery, domestic architecture, clothing, and coins) to rural populations, a diffusion made possible by the development of rural artisan workshops.

The second part of this book ([chapters 3 and 4](#)) focuses on the efforts of rural populations to form recognized communities, specifically the phenomenon of the rural bishopric in the fourth and fifth centuries. Again, the argument is structured as a comparison between the early and late empire. I examine how the Roman government “decommunalized” the North African countryside in the early imperial period, turning a region of towns and villages into one of cities and estates. Some rural communities managed to become self-governing municipalities in the second and third centuries. When the imperial government discontinued any further extension of municipal rights, villages and estates began to elect their own bishops. The recently discovered letters of Augustine of Hippo show that this appearance of bishops in the countryside was very much a “bottom-up” movement, rather than an imposition by the church hierarchy. The competition between Catholics and Donatists for the loyalties of rural populations made both sects amenable, at least for a time, to such communal recognition.

[Part 3](#) describes another sort of diffusion, the preaching of Christian sermons to local populations that had not previously been exposed to the political discourse of the cities. From an examination of the North African church councils, Augustine of Hippo’s correspondence, and the sermons themselves, I make a case that the words of the Christian clergy penetrated more deeply into the ancient countryside than scholars have recognized. The sermons can serve as vehicles for understanding the meaning behind some of the acts that have been labeled peasant rebellion. Sermons about how traditional gifts can pollute the recipient can shed light on why the Numidian peasants at Bagai opposed food distributions by imperial officials in the fourth century. The preaching of the ideal of virginity to peasant women can help us understand the outrage that was felt when, on several occasions, a landlord or magistrate raped rural nuns.

The common theme behind these chapters is one of integration. Rural populations were not asserting a separate indigenous culture in the fourth

century, but in fact sharing more of the same commodities, community structures, and Bible stories than ever before. This was not a “resurgence of indigenism” but rather a spread to the countryside of objects and cultural forms previously exclusive to the towns. And this very integration was a source of social tension, not so much between peasants and the top of Roman society, as between peasants and their more immediate masters, the local decurion families.

My work owes a heavy debt to the revisionist scholarship on late antiquity over the last quarter century that has challenged the previously bleak picture of the late Roman peasantry. Archaeologists have demonstrated the vitality of the countryside in the fourth through sixth century C.E.³⁹ In the eastern Mediterranean, in particular, they have found that the inhabitants of farms and villages were able to afford fine pottery, architectural decoration, and even luxuries like bathhouses on a scale not attested before.⁴⁰ Even in much of Western Europe, the fourth century was a period of rural growth, not decline.⁴¹ Both halves of the empire experienced a rise in the importance of “secondary agglomerations,” large villages that usurped some of the functions of the cities.⁴² These changes in settlement were accompanied by an increase in rural monetization, perhaps sparked by a movement toward wage labor.⁴³

In addition to this convergence of material culture, late antique historians, with Peter Brown in the fore, have traced the creation of a Christian culture, which bridged the gap between town and country. Places of Christian *reverentia*, such as monasteries and martyr shrines, were created in the countryside as well as in towns.⁴⁴ The classical division of society into urban citizens and rural noncitizens gave way to a new division between rich and poor.⁴⁵ Due to the efforts of bishops and holy men, people of all walks of life began to share a new, “popular” culture, based on the visual and the oral communication of miracle tales and Bible stories rather than a shared literary canon.⁴⁶ Here I am doing little more than suggesting that developments that have been posited for the eastern Mediterranean more than the West also took place in Latin North Africa.⁴⁷

The fundamental difference between my work and what has come before it is an emphasis on how resemblance could heighten, not mollify, social tensions. The assumption behind much of the archaeological work on material culture (drawing on the anthropological concept of acculturation) has been that the adoption of “Roman” objects, dress, and architecture indicated an acceptance of the Roman system. “Resistance” only happened when conquered populations refused to Romanize, retaining instead their traditional customs.⁴⁸ Peter Brown makes similar assumptions in his work on the spread of Christianity. After the conversion of Constantine, Christianity served as a mediator between elites and nonelites.⁴⁹ The communication of saints’ cults, images, and slogans helped cement the influence of the new Christian leaders. By claiming to be “lovers of the poor,” centralizing emperors and the church were able to bypass the old citizenship of the *municipium* and establish direct

links with a greater portion of the population.⁵⁰ Resistance to this Christian “socialization” took the form of traditionalism, rural populations clinging to “life styles that were less amenable to urban and aristocratic grooming.”⁵¹ One reason why this Romanization or Christianization is seen as desirable from the perspective of those in power is that it was a top-down process. Rural populations are portrayed as the passive recipients of cultural or economic structures designed to perpetuate their subordination.⁵²

This book seeks to restore some agency to rural populations, arguing that it was their appropriation of ideas and material goods that created tensions. Even under a Marxist notion of hegemony, dominant classes need to present their actions as “the embodiment of a moral code, much of which represents the interests and sentiments of all classes.”⁵³ This can provide the lower classes with an opportunity to emphasize those aspects of this moral code most favorable to their own interests. In the context of colonial and postcolonial societies (which Roman North Africa, after all, was), subaltern groups frequently turn the dominant culture’s ideology against it. The opportunity to do so can be created unwittingly by preachers, teachers, and missionaries—those who communicate hegemonic ideas to the dominated.⁵⁴

Most of the scholarship has concentrated on ideological appropriation, but material appropriation is just as important. Pierre Bourdieu has described the subtle and often unconscious mechanisms by which not only material objects, but also the taste and knowledge to employ them, become the basis for social distinction.⁵⁵ Emulation from below can be profoundly disturbing, especially to those who feel their power to be insecure. In imperial contexts, access to the objects that create status is often explicitly restricted.⁵⁶ Ranajit Guha has discussed how the Raj and zamindars of British India would not allow certain tribes to wear turbans or footwear, sit on chairs, enter temples, or eat from brass plates. No Balahi was allowed to ride his horse past an upper-caste person.⁵⁷ The arrival of the Europeans did not put an end to these material indications of status but rather reinforced and expanded them. The bungalow compound, itself derived from a traditional housing style of Bengal, came to be associated with Europeans and the Raj. Europeans came to expect to see bare feet as a mark of respect.⁵⁸ Peasant protests in India often involved the appropriation of these material symbols of power—the wearing of forbidden turbans, the use of umbrellas, the riding of horses.⁵⁹

What we can take from this literature is that provincial societies, even those at the bottom of provincial societies, are neither passive nor homogeneous recipients of the objects and culture of the imperial center. They transform them to serve their own interests.⁶⁰ The meaning behind these transformations and hybridizations often has more to do with relations between the indigenous elite—the zamindars in the Indian case, provincial decurions in the Roman—and those below them, rather than between the indigenous groups and the direct agents of empire. Before we can understand the tensions in the fourth century, we must step back and examine the

meaning behind the material and cultural inequalities created within Roman Africa during the early empire. The story is not, as often told, simply North Africans adopting Roman practices, but rather a complex blending of North African and Roman domestic architecture, dining practices, and communal structures, in ways that ultimately empowered the decurion elites. Only by becoming better observers of these structures of inequality can we perceive what went wrong (or right) in the fourth and fifth centuries.

In the end, the tension went hand in hand with the resemblance; the fortified walls of the Dominus Julius mosaic were intimately connected to the jewelry and colorful dyes worn by the peasants. In the midst of celebrating the material and cultural convergences of late antiquity, it is important to recognize that there were costs to crossing fundamental boundaries. The political and social subordination of the rustic was based on a large number of material and cultural differences, ranging from his short girded tunic and ignorance of bathhouses to his unfamiliarity with the literary canon. It was the violation, not the maintenance, of these stereotypes that created problems. And in the fourth century, violation occurred on a massive scale.

The pastoralists who continued to cross the Sahara even after its desertification brought the region's other major source of wealth—trade goods such as ivory, gold, and slaves from sub-Saharan Africa. Transit across the desert eastward to the Nile and southward to central and western Africa had never wholly ceased, and it became easier due to the widespread use of the horse and camel in the course of the first millennium B.C.E.³

The dominant ethnic group was what ancient Greek ethnographers called the Libyans, and modern historians the Berbers.⁴ Berber belongs to the Afro-Asiatic language group, which also includes ancient Egyptian, Semitic, and Chadic, the last of which is most closely related to Berber.⁵ The hypothesis is that the original Libyans moved west from the upper Nile across the Sahara and spread over most of North Africa. They adopted agriculture rather late, developing a seminomadic lifestyle ca. 4000 B.C.E. with a heavy emphasis on animal raising. Their skill at cavalry warfare (portrayed in Egyptian art) allowed them to conquer the farmers of the southern Sahara in the last two millennia B.C.E.⁶

By the time Greek historical accounts begin to be written about them, the Libyans were separated into many different peoples—some seminomads in the desert, others settled farmers. The Garamantes and related Libyan tribes controlled the Saharan oases and supported themselves through a combination of pastoralism, farming, and trans-Saharan trade. A myriad of tribes and subtribes occupied the plains and the Tell. The most important of these in the Roman sources were the Mauri in Morocco and western Algeria, the Numidae of the Algerian Tell, and the seminomadic Gaetulians of the plains and predesert.⁷ The first centralized Libyan kingdoms had developed by the third century B.C.E., though they were unstable due to partible inheritance among the royal families. King Masinissa, who helped the Romans defeat the Carthaginians in the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.E.), created the largest kingdom, Numidia.

The Carthaginians, or rather western Phoenicians (in Latin, *Poenici*), were the second major ethnic group of North Africa. They had founded a series of trade colonies on the African coast during the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. Although Carthage would eventually make most of these colonies tributary to itself, it is better to understand the Punic presence as a collection of independent cities rather than a unified empire. For the first four centuries of their existence, the Punic cities were more focused on Mediterranean trade than on the development of their African hinterland. This began to change after the Greeks gained control of Sicily in the fifth century B.C.E. and even more after the Roman victory in the First Punic War (264–241 B.C.E.). Forced to give up its overseas empire, Carthage turned northern Tunisia, especially the fertile Cap Bon, into a land of estates that produced cash crops such as grain, wine, and olive oil. Indeed, the only Punic books to be translated into Latin were agricultural manuals on how to farm such estates.⁸

Because the Punic cities never had very large citizen bodies, they depended

on the Libyans for their mercenary soldiers and farm laborers. In the rural territories of Carthage and other cities like Lepcis Magna in Libya, intermarriage and/or Libyan adoption of Punic customs occurred to such an extent that Greek and Roman ethnographers called the people “Libyo-Phoenicians.”⁹ As late as the fifth century C.E., Punic remained the vernacular in the territory of Hippo Regius in western Algeria and in parts of rural Libya. The cults of Punic gods, in particular Tanit and Baal Hammon, spread farther than Punic political power ever did. Yet most of North Africa remained more Libyan than Punic, as demonstrated by the persistence of Libyan inscriptions, personal names, and gods into (and beyond) late antiquity.¹⁰ This was especially true for the mountainous and predesert zones, which had never particularly interested the Phoenicians or the Romans.

The immediate hinterland of Carthage became the Roman province of Africa after the Romans destroyed Carthage in the Third Punic War (146 B.C.E.). The Numidian kingdom with its main capital of Cirta in eastern Algeria was annexed partly by Julius Caesar as Africa Nova in 46 B.C.E. and completely in 33 B.C.E. To the west, Mauretania was for a time a client state centered on two royal cities, Iol (later Iol Caesarea) on the Algerian coast and the inland capital Volubilis in present-day Morocco. It wasn’t fully absorbed into the empire until 40 C.E. The predesert areas to the south took the longest to subjugate. A Gaetulan revolt in 3–6 C.E. led to the permanent stationing of a legion, the Third Augustan, in southern Numidia. In 17 C.E., the Libyan leader Tacfarinas united Musulamians, the Gaetulians, and other tribes in a more serious uprising. The Garamantes of the Sahara were only quelled in the late first century C.E., when the Roman military captured their oasis base of Garama and reputedly crossed the Sahara, possibly as far as Lake Chad.¹¹ After these wars of the first century C.E., there was not much trouble from the Libyan tribes for several centuries. Those outside the Roman borders became clients of the Romans, while the tribes within the North African provinces were placed under Roman prefects.¹²

Of the North African provinces, the fertile Africa Proconsularis, the original province of Africa, was the most important, and its governor, a senatorial proconsul, was one of the most powerful senators in the Roman Empire. In the early imperial period, Proconsularis included most of Tunisia, eastern Algeria (the part annexed by Caesar), and a coastal strip of Libya that would come to be called Tripolitania after its three Punic cities (Lepcis Magna, Oea, and Sabratha). The proconsul technically had command over the legion stationed in North Africa, but from 40 C.E. the imperial legate of this legion (the Third Augustan) governed the military bases around the Aurès Mountains in southeastern Algeria almost independently. In the third century C.E. this area would be separated from Proconsularis to form part of the new province of Numidia. Mauretania—which was divided into Mauretania Caesariensis in the east and Mauretania Tingitana in the west—was a huge, rugged territory, with many mountains and few ports.¹³ Although largest in

territory, the Mauretaniae were the least significant provinces in terms of wealth and influence.

In addition to serving as Africa's proconsuls, Roman senators exercised unofficial power in the region through their estates, which were so extensive that reputedly under Nero six senators possessed one third of Africa! Much of this land was actually in the form of large imperial estates leased out to private individuals (usually senators) under long-term emphyteutic leases. These estates were concentrated especially in the fertile Bagradas Valley of northwest Tunisia, but even the interior of Algeria had its share of large estates.¹⁴

Considering the size of its frontier (some 2,500 km long), North Africa was only lightly militarized. Its one legion, the Third Augustan, amounted to only 20,000–25,000 men (5,000 legionaries and 15,000–20,000 auxiliaries). Half of them were stationed in Mauretania Tingitana in the far west, and the rest just south and north of the Aurès (Numidia) and along the frontier (*limes*) of Mauretania Caesariensis and Tripolitania. The Mauretaniae and southern Numidia were also the location of most of Africa's veteran colonies, including Thamugadi, Diana Veteranorum, and Sitifis.¹⁵ These soldiers and their descendants long maintained a separate identity from the indigenous society around them; it is in these areas that we find some of the most Roman of North African cities next to the territories of Libyan tribes.¹⁶

Outside these militarized zones, North Africa was governed not by Roman officers or governors, but by local city magistrates. Several hundred North African cities collected taxes, ran local law courts, and erected and maintained public buildings. Although a few cities, such as the military bases Lambaesis and Thamugadi, had been founded by the Romans, the majority were of Punic or Libyan origin.¹⁷ The most important were a dozen or so megacities with extensive territories. Carthage itself, refounded as a Roman colony by Augustus, encompassed much of northern Tunisia in its *perpetua Carthaginiensium*. Lepcis Magna, a Punic city on the Libyan coast that had been Rome's ally, controlled an astonishing 3,000–4,000 square kilometers of territory, most of it desert.¹⁸ Cirta, the former royal capital of Numidia, presided over a confederation of four cities in eastern Algeria that functioned almost as an autonomous province.¹⁹ At the other extreme were small noncitizen (peregrine) communities, like Siagu in northeastern Tunisia, whose territory was not more than 60–70 square kilometers (much of it mountainous) and whose entire population, including its hinterland, was some 4,000–7,000 people.²⁰ What these cities had in common was obviously not their size or—in our sense—their urbanism, but the fact that they had been recognized by the Roman government as self-governing. The most humble were the peregrine *civitates*, whose residents were not Roman citizens and which kept their pre-Roman magistrates (*sufetes*). These communities often petitioned to become *municipia*, which had Roman constitutions and whose leaders obtained Roman citizenship. The most prestigious type of city was the

colonia, all of whose citizens possessed Roman citizenship, even if (as was often the case) no Roman “colonists” had ever been settled there. In each community, the real power was held by the 30 to 100 local decurions who constituted the city council (*ordo*).²¹

The most important function of these cities from the imperial perspective was the collection of taxes, particularly in-kind contributions of foodstuffs to the city of Rome (the *annona*). By the mid-first century C.E., North Africa was said to supply two thirds of Rome’s grain, an estimated 10–18 million *modii* of cereals annually.²² Olive oil came second, at first from Tripolitania more than Tunisia (Leptis Magna alone was fined 3 million pounds of olive oil annually by Julius Caesar).²³ Large-scale export of Tunisian oil began in the late second century, and by the late fourth century, more than half of the amphoras at Rome were Tunisian.²⁴ On a lesser scale, North Africans had to provide nonagricultural products such as cloth, Numidian marble, gold, and wild animals for the games. Despite the burden of imperial taxes, North African decurions had enough left over to finance extensive civic building campaigns in the late first through early third century C.E. Carthage built its theater, baths, circus, odeon, and aqueduct in the second century. This is the period when North African cities took on their characteristic Roman form, with monumental *fora*, capitols, amphitheaters, theaters, and public baths.²⁵

To pay for all of this, the land was farmed more intensively than it had ever been before. In the pre-desert, retaining walls were built to catch wadi runoff to cultivate olives and grain. In the arid plains of southern Proconsularis and Numidia, earth embankments and canals were used to distribute the floodwater coming off the mountains. The yields made possible by these types of irrigation—as high as 300:1—astonished the Romans. The technology behind this agricultural development came from the Libyans, not the Romans, who had little experience farming arid land such as this, although Roman taxes and property law no doubt provided the incentives to intensify production.²⁶ The actual workers were primarily free peasants, who acted as sharecroppers or seasonal farm laborers for their city-dwelling landlords. We know most about the tenancy arrangements for the least-valued land. On the edges of the imperial estates, second-century emperors encouraged the development of previously uncultivated land through a type of sharecropping known as Mancian tenure, which was eventually adopted on private estates as well. Peasants who brought the land under cultivation were given hereditary tenure as long as they kept farming the land, and paid one third of their produce as rent.²⁷ This promoted a stability of tenure, even if, as we shall see, it did not do much to enrich the cultivators. Under the early empire, the region’s wealth was successfully channeled to the landholding senators, decurions, and, of course, the imperial government.

Some African decurions went beyond their home cities and entered the imperial elite. In the 70s C.E. there was only one African senator (from Cirta); a century later, there were a hundred.²⁸ Well-known second-century literati

such as the novelist/philosopher Apuleius had African decurion origins. This entry of Africans into the imperial elite culminated with Septimius Severus (193–211), who founded the Severan dynasty of emperors. In origin an equestrian from a leading family of Lepcis Magna, he entered the Senate and pursued a career in the imperial military. Although the Severans are often blamed for favoring the military and debasing the imperial coinage, their reign proved a golden age for North Africa. Throughout the region, more civic monuments, temples, and statues went up than ever before. Septimius's hometown, Lepcis Magna, was particularly favored. Many small North African communities were granted municipal rights for the first time.²⁹ Septimius turned eastern Algeria, where many of Africa's troops were stationed and which he personally visited, into the separate province of Numidia. The only people who do not appear to have benefited from Severan rule were the senators, who saw some of their prerogatives usurped by the equestrians and military men favored by the emperors.

The third-century crisis brought this golden age to an end. In 235, the commander of the Pannonian legions murdered the last of the Severans and took over the empire. To reward the troops who had brought him to power, this soldier emperor, Maximinus Thrax, aggressively collected taxes. His exactions sparked one of the few North African rebellions. In 238, landowners in Proconsularis killed an imperial procurator and got their proconsul Gordian proclaimed emperor. The North African military, however, remained loyal to Maximinus, revealing the fault line between the military based in Numidia and the landowners (and taxpayers) of Proconsularis.³⁰ In the resulting conflict, the proconsul and his son died (along with many North Africans), but his grandson (Gordian III) was recognized as emperor by the Roman Senate.

For the next fifty years the empire as a whole descended into chaos. Gordian III was soon supplanted by another soldier emperor. Armies in search of donatives and better leadership acclaimed their generals emperor time after time. In order to pay their troops, the emperors debased the silver coinage, which at its worst had only three percent the silver content of the Severan period.³¹ The peoples on the borders of the empire took advantage of the Romans' disorder to invade. In North Africa, the Libyan tribe of the Bavares attacked Numidia and the Mauretanas. Southern Mauretania Tingitana proved so difficult to defend that by the end of the third century it was simply abandoned.³² There was a decline in public building in North African cities, and signs of economic restructuring: for example, the north Tunisian pottery industry that had supplied Italy with most of its fineware abruptly came to an end in the 230s, though new ceramic industries in other parts of North Africa sprang up to take its place.³³ Although the core provinces of North Africa actually weathered the third-century crisis better than much of the empire, the crisis weakened the population's confidence in the imperial government and the value system that supported it. And there was one group that was particularly well placed to profit from this.

Christianity had come rather late to North Africa, arriving only in the course of the second century. Yet as soon as we have evidence for it, it had spread deeply into African society. In the early third century, seventy bishops attended a Council of Carthage. To put this in perspective, this was more than twice the number of bishoprics in either Gaul or Italy a century later.³⁴ Tertullian, writing ca. 200, could claim that Christians “have filled the empire and everything that is yours—cities, neighborhoods, villages, towns, the meeting places, the very camps, tribes, councils, the palace, the senate, the forum. We have left you the temples alone!”³⁵ The religion was sufficiently established in the more remote parts of Numidia by the third century for Christians to become captives of the Bavares when they invaded.³⁶ Even though many Africans, both in the cities and the country, would remain pagan well into late antiquity, Christianity had penetrated African society before Constantine’s conversion to a degree only paralleled elsewhere by Asia Minor.³⁷

Why was the new religion so appealing to North Africans? As a number of scholars have noted, there was already a tendency among the population in North Africa toward near-exclusive devotion to all-powerful gods, whether Baal, Saturn, or—in the case of Apuleius—Isis. North African personal names suggest that Jehovah was now syncretized with Saturn.³⁸ The Christian martyr cult of North Africa had affinities with the Libyan cult of the dead, down to the similar whitewashing, feasting, incubation, and even dancing at tombs.³⁹ Moreover, Christianity provided an opportunity to form communities in a region that had always had a strong civic impulse. African Christians modeled their communities on their local towns and villages, calling their lay leaders *seniores* and envisioning their entry into the Lord’s *curia*.⁴⁰ These were not inclusive communities; rather, like the North African *civitates*, they were divided into cliques and clubs, inner and outer circles, with full membership only achievable through martyrdom.⁴¹ This enthusiastic, rigorist, exclusive form of Christianity would soon have competition from a more accommodating religion developed by North African apologists like the rhetor Arnobius of Sicca Veneria and his pupil Lactantius at the end of the third century. These apologists deemphasized martyrdom and drew on Greco-Roman philosophy and mythology (and Roman social mores) to demonstrate Christian truths.⁴² The emperors found this version of North African Christianity more to their liking.

The third-century crisis ended, for Africa at least, when Diocletian’s coemperor, Maximian, came in person to fight the Bavares, making one of the few imperial visits to North Africa (only Hadrian and Septimius also visited). Maximian’s campaign was a success, but the decision was nevertheless made that the southwestern border was too costly to defend. Southern Mauretania Tingitana was abandoned, although Roman culture survived in the form of Christianity.⁴³ The North African army was increased slightly in size and placed under the unified command of a *comes Africae*.⁴⁴

The Tetrarchy's other major administrative reform was a subdivision of the provinces. Mauretania Caesarienses became two provinces—Mauretania Sitifensis and Mauretania Caesariensis, centered on the colonies Sitifis and Iol Caesarea, respectively. Southern Proconsularis became the province of Byzacena. Tripolitania (previously part of Proconsularis) was now recognized as a province in its own right. Proconsularis now consisted only of northern Tunisia (Zeugitana) and part of eastern Algeria (Proconsular Numidia). All of these provinces, except Proconsularis and the stump of Mauretania Tingitana, were now under the overall authority of a new vicar of Africa, a stand-in for the praetorian prefect.⁴⁵

As in the rest of the empire, the imperial bureaucracy now became a much more important force in North African cities. In order to prevent excessive spending by city councils, city revenues (including the lucrative local market taxes) were taken over by the imperial government. Governors returned a portion of these revenues for approved public building projects, but now they instead of the local decurions took the credit for them.⁴⁶ No longer were African citizens able to freely elect their city magistrates: an edict of Constantine ordered the previous year's magistrates to designate the pool from which their successors would be drawn.⁴⁷ Real power within a *civitas* was increasingly in the hands of a group known as *principales*, made up of ex-officials and upper-rank decurions.⁴⁸

This is not to say that North African decurions became insignificant; they retained a tighter hold on local politics than in many parts of the empire.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, ambitious decurions tried to get their children careers in the imperial bureaucracy rather than in the municipal *ordo*. By the late fourth century, there were an estimated 20,000 positions in the imperial bureaucracy on offer, many of them drawing recruits from the sons of decurions. Sometimes these offices brought with them senatorial status.⁵⁰ In a surviving municipal album of the *ordo* of Thamugadi (Numidia), seventy men of curial standing had entered the imperial bureaucracy, and another twelve had become senators.⁵¹ These decurions turned-senators retained a connection with their communities of origin (especially after the requirement that they own land in Italy was dropped) and represented these communities at the provincial councils.⁵² Careers in the church took a little longer to become attractive to decurions, many of whom were still polytheists, but by the early fifth century, the church was also drawing young men of good family away from municipal service.⁵³ Augustine of Hippo is the classic example of the opportunities open to a young man of talent. Born to a curial family of the small town Thagaste (Proconsular Numidia), he would first get an imperial appointment as rhetorician in the western capital of Milan and later become bishop of Hippo Regius, the most important city of Proconsular Numidia.

Despite the tendency of the children of decurions to seek alternative careers, North African cities remained prosperous in the fourth and early fifth centuries. The old civic buildings of the *fora*, amphitheatres, theaters, and

secular basilicas continued to be used and rebuilt through the early fifth century, despite Christian objections to their pagan associations.⁵⁴ At the same time, new community centers were being built in the form of Christian basilicas.⁵⁵ Public bathhouses were popular among people of all religious persuasions, with old baths being maintained and new ones built into the sixth century.⁵⁶ Residential neighborhoods, both humble and opulent, reached their greatest extent in the late fourth and fifth centuries.⁵⁷ The mosaic industry peaked in quantity if not quality during the same period.⁵⁸ The only major cities to suffer irreversible decline were Volubilis in Mauretania Tingitana, which was no longer within the empire, and Lepcis Magna, which never fully recovered from Libyan attacks in the 370s.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, it is hard not to conclude that by the beginning of the fifth century the old classical idea of the city was beginning to weaken, with *fora* being converted to other uses and the focus of the communities shifting to the new ecclesiastical complexes that were being built in the villages and estates as much as in the cities.⁶⁰

The Christian civilization that was replacing the classical was a divided one. In the early fourth century C.E. a schism had arisen out of a dispute over whether the bishop of Carthage had been ordained by *traditores*—that is, Christians who had given in to the Diocletianic persecutions. During the Great Persecution of 303–5, some North African clergy had handed over scriptures to their city officials and had even sacrificed to the Roman gods. It was a long-standing North African tradition that such *traditores* had to undergo penance and in some cases a second baptism before being readmitted into the church. Any sacraments performed by *traditores* were considered invalid. In 311/12, the Numidian bishops, who had traditionally participated in ordaining the bishop of Carthage, claimed that the see's new bishop (Caecilian) had been ordained by a *traditor* and therefore was not really a bishop. They ordained their own bishop of Carthage—first Majorinus and then Donatus, a fiery preacher who gave the Donatist movement its name. The newly Christian emperor Constantine tried to settle the dispute, summoning church councils at Rome (313) and Arles (314) and later ordering several North African governors to investigate the Donatist accusations. These inquiries vindicated Caecilian; in fact they found that some of the Numidian bishops who had opposed him were themselves *traditores* (or worse). The Donatists (or rather the *Christiani*, as they called themselves) never accepted these findings and maintained a separate church administration, and even a separate bishop of Rome, into the fifth century.⁶¹

Because the Donatists were regarded as schismatics rather than heretics, imperial persecution was halfhearted during most of the fourth century. There was some confiscation of Donatist church property under Constantine. However, in 321, Constantine wisely decided to leave punishment of the schism to God. Constantine's sons exiled Donatist bishops after two imperial commissioners, Paul and Macarius, met with violent Donatist resistance when trying to distribute imperial charity in 347 C.E. Donatus himself was exiled

until his death in 355. Relative toleration returned under the pagan emperor Julian (361), who allowed exiled Christians of all sects to return and reclaim their property. By the end of the fourth century, the Donatists could with some justification claim to be the acknowledged “catholic” church of Africa.⁶²

And yet by 420 the Donatist church was all but destroyed. How the church that had controlled at least half of North Africa could have been almost disbanded in twenty years requires some explanation. The suppression of the Donatists was partly due to growing imperial intolerance toward religious dissent in a period of military turmoil and partly due to the Catholics’ skill at portraying them as dangerous heretics.⁶³

The Donatists’ loyalty to the empire came under suspicion in the 390s, when Catholics succeeded in implicating them in a military revolt by the Libyan general Gildo, although they in fact had very little to do with it. Gildo came from a family of Libyan chieftains whose leadership the Romans had never completely eradicated (indeed, the Romans had preserved the tribes in order to ensure a continual supply of the highly prized Libyan cavalry).⁶⁴ Gildo’s father, Flavius Nubel, was a Christian (probably Catholic) leader of the Jubaleni tribe in the Kabylie Mountains and a prefect of a cavalry unit. Nubel had been loyal to the emperors, but his son Firmus led a rebellion in the 370s, sparked by the oppressions of the notorious *comes Africae* Romanus. Though Firmus had some success—most notably the occupation of the provincial capital Caesarea for three years—the general Theodosius (father of the emperor Theodosius I) succeeded in putting the rebellion down. The imperial government then rewarded Firmus’s brother Gildo, who had fought on the Roman side, with the position of *comes Africae* and marriage into the imperial family. Gildo maintained his office as *comes* for a decade, amassing an enormous number of estates and building alliances with the mostly Donatist bishops of Numidia. The most powerful of these, the Donatist bishop Optatus of Thamugadi, built one of the grandest Christian basilicas in Africa under Gildo’s protection and personally saw to the transfer of Catholic church property back to his sect. In 397, Gildo misstepped by transferring his loyalty (and Africa’s grain) from the western empire to the east. One of his brothers was sent with imperial troops to oust him. Gildo’s allies and supporters, including many Donatists, were condemned.⁶⁵

Even though the Donatists had only made the same sort of use of Gildo—a legitimately appointed *comes*—as the Catholics had long done of imperial officials,⁶⁶ the Catholics had by this point acquired a spokesman with the ability to paint the rival church in the darkest possible colors. Augustine of Hippo would devote much of the next two decades to defeating them.⁶⁷ In his *Contra epistolam Parmeniani* (403–4 C.E.), Augustine vividly described the Donatist bishop Optatus of Thamugadi leading his armed circumcellions in support of Gildo’s rebellion against the emperor. Augustine and his allies—Possidius, bishop of Calama, and Aurelius, bishop of Carthage—were also instrumental in getting Donatism condemned as a heresy. Up to this point, the

debate had largely centered on whether the bishops who consecrated Caecilian had really been *traditores*—an issue of fact, not theology. Augustine now argued that schism itself—if persistent—should be considered heresy.⁶⁸ An imperial “edict of unity” finally condemned Donatism as a heresy in 405.⁶⁹ The enforcement of this edict was uneven. In most of North Africa, Donatist bishops remained in their sees, but some areas—notably Augustine’s own enormous diocese—descended into religious warfare, with the Catholics calling upon the government authorities, and the Donatists mobilizing their own congregations.

Matters got worse for the Donatists in 410, when the Goths invaded Rome. The Gothic sack of Rome appears to have been interpreted by some members of the imperial court as a punishment for the toleration of heresy and schism. The day after Alaric took Rome, the emperor Honorius ordered the *comes Africae* to put down the Donatist heretics with “blood and proscription.”⁷⁰ This persecution was temporarily halted so that a general council of Donatist and Catholic bishops could be convoked to seek a peaceful solution. Honorius sent an imperial tribune and friend of Augustine’s, Marcellinus, to preside over this council. On 8 June 411 C.E., 285 Donatist and 286 Catholic bishops met at the Gargilian Baths in Carthage, the Donatists standing because they refused to sit with *traditores*. Marcellinus, unsurprisingly, judged in favor of the Catholics. Six months afterward, Honorius confirmed Marcellinus’s decision and declared Donatism illegal. The two churches were to be united, with exile imposed on Donatist clergy, and heavy fines and property confiscation on the Donatist laity. As a carrot, Donatist ordinations were to be recognized if their clergy would enter into communion with the Catholics.⁷¹

Whether this settlement would have succeeded in uniting the African church was not fully tested, because within two decades Africa was lost to the empire altogether. The weak western emperors of the fifth century had created a climate for usurpation, in which the counts of Africa, with their excellent cavalry and the African fleet, participated. In 413, the *comes* Heraclian made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Italy. In the 420s, the *comes* Boniface refused an order by the empress Placidia to give up his office and return to the imperial court. Instead he invited in the barbarian Vandals to serve as his allies.⁷² The Vandals, an eastern Germanic people who had left the Danube region around 400 C.E., had been occupying Spain since 409. By the time they invaded Africa, they were a mixed confederation of peoples, including Alans, Sueves, Goths, and no doubt some Romans as well as Vandals.⁷³ In 429, some 80,000 men, women, and children crossed from Spain into North Africa. Boniface, who had by this time made peace with the empress, tried to defend Africa against them but was forced to retreat into Hippo Regius. Augustine died with the Vandals besieging his city’s walls.

The Vandals conquered the core provinces of North Africa (Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, eastern Numidia) between 429 and 439. Geiseric, a member of the royal Hasdingi family, began to call himself king after he took

Carthage in 439 (a new form of dating, the “year of Carthage,” was instituted to commemorate the event).⁷⁴ Western Numidia, most of Tripolitania, and the Mauretaniae remained Roman until 455, when, upon the death of Valentinian III, Geiseric seized “all” of Africa. In practice, however, much of the Mauretaniae and southern Numidia was ruled by Romano-Libyan kings.⁷⁵

The Vandals’ acquisition of North Africa by direct conquest rather than as federates had important implications for the character of their rule. Although the Vandal kings made some semblance of ruling for the eastern emperors (among other things, they never minted gold coins), from the beginning they acted as sovereigns in their internal affairs.⁷⁶ This was most vividly demonstrated by a very real dispossession of Roman landowners. Without any attempt to share estates with their former owners by dividing the land into thirds (as appears to have been done in Italy and Gaul), the Vandals confiscated the most valuable properties of Proconsularis and exiled (or enslaved) their owners. They particularly targeted senators, imperial officials (usually also senators), and the *principales* of Carthage.⁷⁷ Geiseric distributed these estates (the *sortes Vandalorum*) to his Vandal followers and the Arian church and declared them tax-free (Geiseric was described by Procopius as having burnt the tax registers). In the other provinces, such as Byzacena and Numidia, Roman landowners were allowed to retain their properties if they paid taxes for them.⁷⁸

Unlike the other Germanic kings, the Vandal kings actually tried to make their Arian Christianity the official religion. In 457 they refused to allow the ordination of Catholic bishops in Proconsularis (which went from 164 bishops in 439 to only 54 in 484). They attempted to convert North African *Romani* to Arianism through preaching and coercion—a unique attempt in the barbarian kingdoms to make Arianism the church of the state rather than of the *gens*.⁷⁹ Their success was confined to Proconsularis, however. The number of Catholic bishops in Byzacena and Numidia remained stable. Their number in Mauretania Caesariensis, which the Vandals only loosely controlled, dramatically increased. Only at the end of the fifth century did the Vandal kings seriously persecute the clergy of these other provinces, exiling hundreds of Catholic (and Donatist) bishops, who fled to Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Constantinople with stories of Vandal cruelty.⁸⁰

Yet despite the undeniable suffering experienced by many North African landowners and clergy, the Vandal occupation rested surprisingly lightly on North Africa as a whole. The structures of life remained essentially Roman.⁸¹ The most popular aspects of late Roman urban life (baths, games, and churches) were still enjoyed. North African literati continued to produce poetry, epics, histories, theological tracts, grammatical works, and saints’ lives.⁸² There were, after all, only some 80,000 Vandal men, women, and children in a region whose capital city alone (Carthage) had an estimated 300,000 people.⁸³ There had been no continuous long-term Germanic immigration as in Britain or the Rhineland. And the Vandals were already to

some extent Romanized, having lived in the empire for thirty years (and on its edges for far longer) before their arrival in Africa. Archaeologically, no Vandal dress or grave goods, much less Vandal architecture, literature, or art, have been identified.⁸⁴

There were, of course, some fundamental changes in government. Africa now had a king, who exercised his power through a body of companions (*comites*), royal notaries, and Arian bishops. Proconsularis, one of the least militarized provinces in the Roman Empire, now hosted an occupying army. The Vandals, nevertheless, allowed much of the civilian government of Africa to continue to function. There was still a civilian proconsul in Carthage. He and the governors for the other provinces were recruited from North African *Romani*.⁸⁵ Roman legal traditions (and the legal profession) survived both in Carthage and in remote rural communities like the one that produced the archive of documents known as the Albertini Tablets.⁸⁶ The exact form of municipal government is rather obscure, due to a paucity of inscriptions from the era, but it would seem that as in Ostrogothic Italy the decurions retained at least some of their functions.⁸⁷

The North African economy actually appears to have improved in those areas under direct Vandal rule. Roman Africa had never been a region artificially supported by investment of wealth from the empire; on the contrary, it had paid out more than it took in. With the discontinuation of the *annona* to Italy, a favorable balance of trade returned.⁸⁸ Procopius describes landlords under the Vandals selling their produce and accumulating the profits for ninety-five years. Archaeology confirms his account: the percentage of African amphora exports increased to regions such as Spain and the eastern Mediterranean, and plenty of foreign gold reached Africa.⁸⁹ The internal economy prospered. Vandal North Africa was one of the few barbarian kingdoms where small denomination bronze coins—generally considered a sign of a monetarized economy—remained the basis of the currency, although as much because of local initiative as official royal minting.⁹⁰ The Tunisian fineware industry, now aimed at an African market as much as an external one, heated up between 475 and 525, when a greater diversity of vessel forms was produced than at any other time in the ware's long history.⁹¹ Tunisian towns in general suffered no contraction in population. Indeed, the one systematic survey of the built-up portion of a North African town has found a peak of occupation in the late Vandal period.⁹² Nor did rural settlement, as will be discussed in more detail in [chapter 3](#), suffer any visible decline in the core provinces of the Vandal kingdom (Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, and Numidia).⁹³

In the cities, the transformations that had begun in the early fifth century continued. The *fora*, pagan temples, and theaters of many cities stopped being used for their original purposes.⁹⁴ In some cities, olive press factories were built in the forum area, a trend that has been termed the “ruralization” of urban space.⁹⁵ On the other hand, some kinds of public buildings were

maintained or built anew. The construction of North African churches, now Arian as well as Catholic (and Donatist), continued apace.⁹⁶ A recent exhaustive study of North African amphitheaters and circuses concludes that their use continued into the early Byzantine period.⁹⁷ The public baths at such cities as Bulla Regia, Sitifis, and even tiny Belalis Maior remained in operation through the Vandal period.⁹⁸ The architectural quality of these buildings remained high, though there was a noticeable tendency to rely on local building materials rather than on imports.⁹⁹ This vigor of the Vandal period should probably not be attributed to the efforts of the Vandal kings (who, at least outside of Carthage, appear to have done little more than provide a modicum of security), but to the strength of North African civic communities, broadly defined.

The areas less directly ruled by the Vandals had a rather different experience during the fifth and early sixth centuries. The megacities fared badly. Lepcis Magna, once the queen of Tripolitania, was largely abandoned during Vandal period, probably because of Libyan raids.¹⁰⁰ Sitifis, the former capital of Mauretania Sitifensis, contracted in size and economy, becoming little more than a “simple agricultural center.”¹⁰¹ Even Caesarea, though its urban core remained fairly prosperous, experienced changes in its rural territory that may indicate rising insecurity for its landholding elite. The dispersed villas of the Roman period began to give way to more nucleated, defensible hamlets, a phenomenon also apparent in fifth- and sixth-century Europe.¹⁰² The economy of the Mauretania became quite local, with few imported coins or amphoras, even from Carthage.¹⁰³

The parts of Mauretania, Tripolitania, and southern Numidia that actually appear to have fared best during the Vandal period are those whose prosperity depended on their connection to the Romano-Libyan tribes rather than the wider Mediterranean world. In the Aurès and Kabylie mountains, tribal leaders begin to call themselves kings or even emperors of the “Moors and the Romans.” When the Byzantines arrived in the 530s, most of southern Numidia and the Mauretania was in their hands.¹⁰⁴ Like Nubel and Gildo before them, these kings were as much Roman as Libyan. Their titles and inscriptions were in Latin. Under their rule, the mountainsides and high plains continued to be farmed intensively (indeed, Procopius describes how the farmers in southeastern Numidia used their irrigation canals to flood the Byzantine army).¹⁰⁵ Christianity, which had come rather late to these areas, spread rapidly. Mauretania Caesariensis, which had sent only 28 bishops to the Council of 411, had 120 by 484.¹⁰⁶

The Tripolitanian predesert fell under the sphere of influence of the Laguatan confederation, an alliance of Libyan tribes who managed to defeat the Vandal army in the early sixth century and sack Lepcis Magna. They linked the caravan routes across the Sahara to the agricultural settlements of the predesert in a way that presaged the more famous gold road of the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁷ Hamlets centered on fortified farms (*gsur*) grew up along the

Scedua, Zem-Zem, and Umm el-Kharab wadi basins, with a density too high to be supported by local agriculture alone.¹⁰⁸ On the other side of the Sahara, trading towns like Jenne-jeno grew up on the Niger River, their economies based on the exchange of trade goods across the Sahara.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, politically the Laguatan looked north rather than south, still seeking their insignia of office from the Vandal kings.¹¹⁰

The experience of these regions outside direct Vandal control resembled in many ways that of early medieval Europe. Roman government was replaced by decentralized, even tribal leadership, which, while borrowing much from Rome, did not maintain a comparable level of infrastructure. The expected consequences ensued—settlement nucleation around defensible sites and a contraction, though not an abandonment, of cities. Mediterranean trade declined, though there was perhaps a compensating increase in new regional trade networks, trans-Saharan in the African case. *Romanitas* was maintained through Christianity. Indeed, it is in these areas that we find the latest Christian inscriptions from the Islamic period, still dated by indiction.¹¹¹

It was the Byzantines, not the Vandals, who ushered in the true period of decline for North Africa. It had been a long-standing goal of the eastern emperors to regain Africa, attempted unsuccessfully under Leo and finally accomplished by the general Belisarius in 533. The emperor Justinian (527–65) found a justification for his invasion (which violated the “perpetual” peace of 477) in the usurpation of the Vandal throne by an adjunct branch of the royal family. The eastern armies were assisted by some disgruntled North African *Romani* and Libyan tribes (who would later have reason to regret this assistance).

At first, the Byzantine conquest was a success. Justinian’s army reoccupied territory that the Vandals had never securely held, installing themselves south of Aurès and penetrating sufficiently into Tripolitania to destroy the Libyan cult center at Ghirza.¹¹² The emperor initiated a building campaign in North African cities and even founded new cities for the first time in two centuries.¹¹³ The Catholic bishops regained their revenues and privileges, and churches were built and redecorated. Justinian restored to Roman landlords at least some of the estates that had been confiscated under Vandal rule. Recent excavations have identified several large estates in Tunisia that were successfully integrated into the Byzantine economy.¹¹⁴

By the mid-sixth century, however, the region was experiencing a combination of natural and political disasters. The bubonic plague struck the Mediterranean in 542, and its effect was exacerbated by an agricultural crisis.¹¹⁵ In 544 C.E., seventy-nine Laguatan chiefs who had come to complain about the pillaging of their crops were massacred by a Byzantine duke. This sparked a Libyan revolt that swept over much of Tripolitania, Byzacena, and southern Numidia and took the Byzantines four years to subdue.¹¹⁶ That same year, Justinian tried to force the North African bishops to accept his condemnation of theological writings known as the Three Chapters, which he

considered Monophysite, but North Africans saw as anti-Arian. By 550, the African church was once again in schism with both Constantinople and Rome (whose pope they excommunicated).¹¹⁷

The archaeological record for the second half of the sixth century reflects these crises. Rural surveys throughout the region show a significant drop in the number of datable sites between 550 and 600 C.E.¹¹⁸ North African exports to the western Mediterranean became infrequent; trade, what there was of it, was now oriented toward the east.¹¹⁹ Urban life was in decline. Amphitheaters and circuses went out of use. Former mansions in towns such as Neapolis were turned into farms. Civic centers were replaced by cemeteries or forts hastily constructed from reused materials.¹²⁰ Such forts and Christian basilicas were now the only public structures that continued to be built anew.¹²¹

More than the Vandal occupation, the Byzantine “liberation” had all the marks of outside imperialism. Instead of promoting local variation on long-standing Romano-Libyan traditions, Byzantine rule brought North Africa firmly within the Mediterranean orbit again. North Tunisian Red Slipped Pottery (ARS) continued to be produced, but its range of forms was reduced to a small number, particularly the large platters popular throughout the Mediterranean. The regional fineware industries of central Tunisia and eastern Algeria ceased altogether.¹²² Carthage retained its mint and under Justinian put out more of the tiny bronze *minimi* than ever before but, under later emperors, was forced to comply with the higher value imperial coin standard, even though hoards show a continued demand for small change.¹²³ Church architecture, although retaining some local fashions like double apses, shows strong external influences. The mosaics decorating these churches become more Byzantine than “African” in style.¹²⁴

The North African literary tradition that had produced Apuleius and Augustine of Hippo now faded away. What literature that continued to exist shifted its focus from local concerns to Constantinople. Corippus, the last North African poet, composed a richly detailed narrative poem on the Libyan war of 544 and then turned to writing panegyrics to Justinian. The chronicle of Victor of Tunnuna, the last North African church historian, is an extended howl of outrage directed against Constantinople. As a result of the insecurity caused by Libyan raiding, many North African clerics fled North Africa altogether and settled in the eastern empire, Italy, or Spain. By the seventh century, theological treatises from North Africa were written in Greek. The only Latin productions were verbatim translations of overseas church councils.¹²⁵

Local traditions were certainly preserved, but they are by and large below the radar of historical observation. And they were not as strong at Carthage as in the smaller communities. Remote churches of Numidia and Mauretania were still electing their rural bishops in the 590s and recording the deposition of their African saints’ relics.¹²⁶ Libyan tribes fought the Arabs with ferocity

unmatched by other parts of the Byzantine world, taking forty years to conquer.¹²⁷ They made the last stand of *Romanitas*, and the latest examples of Latin come from the oases of the predesert.¹²⁸ But the core regions of North Africa had already begun the familiar process of making another set of foreign cultural practices their own.

The recurrent theme in this region's history is a willingness to adopt outside influences quickly and seemingly completely.¹²⁹ No other region of the Roman Empire embraced Roman civic institutions so enthusiastically. No other part of the western empire converted to Christianity so rapidly—and marked the religion permanently with its interpretations. Western North Africans reacted to imperialism not by withdrawing from the world, but by transforming foreign institutions and concepts in their own interest and thereby giving them universal applicability. The following chapters will attempt to trace the slow and sometimes violent process by which the people at the bottom of African society, the ones who are generally left out of the historical narrative, made Roman institutions their own.

PART ONE

The Making of the Peasant Consumer

the population. It also allows us to shed new light on long-standing debates on the nature of the ancient economy.² J. B. Ward-Perkins's controversial *Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization* (2005) used changes in consumption, such as the disappearance of wheel-made pottery, coins, roof tiles, and other traded building materials (primarily from the European provinces), to argue for an early medieval "collapse" of complexity. Consumption of such material goods, however, is only one part of people's overall standard of living. The assessment of living standards has also involved the examination of mortality rates and nutrition. Some interesting recent work has examined human stature and signs of nutritional stress in ancient skeletal remains during the transition between antiquity and the early Middle Ages (although without as yet achieving anything like a scholarly consensus).³

We currently lack such studies of the North African skeletal remains,⁴ but there is one kind of evidence that is relatively abundant for North African rural sites—the pottery scatters, coins, and architectural remains found in archaeological surveys. The North African archaeological surveys consist of two main types—extensive or intensive (the impact of nonsite archaeology is only beginning to be felt in North Africa).⁵ In an intensive survey, teams of archaeologists walk the land systematically in lines ten to twenty meters apart, collecting all the pottery visible on the ground.⁶ Other visible surface remains (coins, stone walls, roof tiles, mosaic *tesserae*, olive presses, etc.) are also recorded. This labor-intensive method allows only a relatively small area to be surveyed, so sampling techniques are employed. Extensive surveys examine much larger geographical areas but do so without systematic field walking. They identify ancient remains by means of earlier surveys (particularly from the French colonial period), reconnaissance by vehicle, local informants, and aerial photography. This leads to a fairly good recovery of the major settlements (villages, large farms), but frequent omission of the small ones. Sites are then visited on foot so that evidence for dating can be collected and architectural remains recorded. The end result for both types of survey is a list of "sites," a chronology of "occupation" for each based on surface finds such as pottery, and descriptions of their location and any visible remains (including the size and plan of the buildings).

Such surveys can provide important information about rural consumption in various periods. For example, they can show whether the inhabitants of small farms were dining on fineware or whether a village was retaining pre-Roman forms of construction materials. However, only rarely have scholars used such sources to understand rural consumption in this way;⁷ rather, the focus has been on reconstructing settlement patterns or charting demographic change. To write a history of consumption from archaeology, historians must learn not only to separate the data from the interpretative framework of the archaeologists, but also to do source criticism of the material objects themselves, tracing the authorship, audience, original purpose, and later transmission of objects as carefully as they would for a text.

Survey archaeology in the Mediterranean is a product of processualist archaeology (also known as the New Archaeology), which finds its theoretical inspiration in the social sciences rather than in history. Deeply influenced by the ecologically oriented anthropology of the mid-twentieth century, processualists stress “the adaptive and exploitative relations, through the agency of technology, of the human group to its habitat, and the demographic and sociocultural consequences of those relations.”⁸ Cultures are thought to adapt to their environment in much the same way that organisms evolve through natural selection.⁹ Archaeological survey makes it possible to reconstruct the systems of adaptation—ancient modes of agricultural exploitation, settlement patterns, population densities, and so on.¹⁰ Because of their interest in entire systems, processualist archaeologists attempt to recover the small and poor sites as well as the grand—a welcome change from the villa and city focus of traditional classical archaeology.

However, in their desire to reconstruct larger systems, survey archaeologists often treat pottery, coins, and, to a lesser extent, architectural remains as unproblematic tools for dating occupation rather than as objects of interest in themselves. Ceramicists can date classical pottery—especially widely traded, high-quality tableware (“fineware”)—very precisely, often within a century of its manufacture. If an ancient structure is associated with second-century fineware, it is presumed to have been occupied in the second century. The converse also follows: if no Roman-period pottery is found at a site, it is labeled “unoccupied” during this period. Using this technique, survey archaeologists have sought to determine whether the population was rising or falling in certain periods (depending on whether the number of sites with datable pottery went up or down), or whether settlement shifted from one ecological niche to another.¹¹ Until recently, little attention was paid to the possibility that pottery (or other material remains) may have had very different meanings in one period or among one social group than another, making it abundant in a villa and virtually nonexistent in a neighboring village.

This objective approach to material culture has come under fire within the archaeological profession itself. A loosely affiliated movement falling under the designation “post-processualism” has advocated a more contextualized, cultural approach to material remains (in some ways a return to the cultural-historical archaeology that the processualists were trying to get away from).¹² Survey archaeologists themselves have advocated more rigorous methodological standards.¹³ They have recognized that changes in building materials (a shift from cut stone to wood, for example) can have serious consequences for the visibility of settlement. Fluctuations in the supply of pottery can also make settlement in certain periods undatable. In an influential article in 1991, Martin Millett formulated two conditions that must be satisfied before survey evidence can reflect population patterns: (1) the pottery collected must have been supplied at the same rate during the different

periods under study; and (2) within any particular period and area, all sites must have equal access to the pottery supplied.¹⁴ These conditions are virtually never met if only fineware is collected. Recent surveys have started to pay more attention to locally produced coarsewares, although these efforts are plagued by difficulties in dating.¹⁵ Some archaeologists have started interpreting the presence of fineware as an indication of wealth or acculturation rather than of occupation.¹⁶

Perhaps the most important thing to recognize is that the evidence of “occupation” that the surveys have depended upon is almost always in the form of commodities—goods that were acquired by exchange rather than produced by the users themselves. The dwellings that leave a surface trace tend to be those with cut stone walls, plaster, cement, mosaic or *opus signinum* floors,¹⁷ or roof tiles—all materials whose production would have required the participation of local (or not so local) artisans. The hut that a family might build for itself rarely leaves a recognizable trace. Classical archaeologists can date the fineware and amphoras that were widely exported throughout the Mediterranean, but not the coarsewares or even some finewares that never made it outside a regional market. This leaves out not only the subsistence farmer, but also those populations, particularly pre- and post-Roman ones, who participated only in regional economies.¹⁸ If one’s goal were to reconstruct ancient demographic patterns, these observations—if accepted—would be disadvantageous. However, if the goal is to trace patterns of consumption in antiquity, the surveys, even as they stand, are a valuable resource.

This is what the following pages attempt to do—to trace changes in the presence of commodities at North African rural sites between the imperial period and late imperial period. My focus is not agriculture in North Africa per se; the history of agricultural production has, for all intents and purposes, already been written.¹⁹ My goal is rather to write about rural consumption. When were the farmers and agricultural laborers of Roman North Africa able to consume goods instead of merely producing them, and when, if ever, did their consumption of goods go beyond the level of basic necessity? I believe that a careful analysis of new archaeological data reveals that small sites and villages were more likely to have fineware and other commodities in the late Roman period, even in those provinces where the overall supply of fineware was declining. To explain this change, it is necessary first to understand the inequality of commodity distribution during the early imperial period, a distribution as much determined by the nature of Roman imperialism as by economics.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND COMMODITY DISTRIBUTION IN THE LATE PUNIC PERIOD

A late Roman military treatise, reflecting on Rome's conquest of the Carthaginians, noted: "To the Africans' treachery and wealth we were always unequal."²⁰ The stereotype of North African wealth had a long life in Roman literature. It is therefore surprising how very little evidence of pre-Roman material culture archaeologists have found in North Africa, at least outside the cities. The emptiness of the North African countryside before the Roman occupation has led scholars to conclude that the Punic cities did little to exploit their agricultural hinterlands. It was the Romans who brought economic development to most of the region.²¹ Only very recently have new surveys and excavations begun to suggest that the settlement density and economic sophistication of pre-Roman North Africa have been seriously underestimated, in part because of a reliance on pottery typologies developed from excavations in Italy and Greece.²² Although this is not the place for a full critique of the evidence, an overview of rural habitation and pottery distributions on the eve of the Roman conquest is warranted for a better understanding of the impact of Roman rule.

Pre-Roman Settlement Patterns

When the Romans arrived in North Africa in the second century B.C.E., it consisted of four main political zones: the narrow coastal strip inhabited by Libyo-Phoenicians; the larger tributary area that Carthage had been increasingly exploiting after its defeat in the first two Punic wars; the Numidian kingdom of Masinissa; and the predesert and steppe controlled by the Gaetulians and other tribal confederations. The boundaries of these areas overlap, and Punic cultural influence extended much farther than Carthage's direct political sway. For the purposes of this summary of settlement patterns, the coastal zone is treated separately from the interior.

A survey of the island of Jerba has so far provided the best picture of settlement on the Libyo-Phoenician coast. The survey discovered two major towns (Bourgou and Meninx), several smaller coastal villages (the best-preserved ca. 4 ha in size), many large villas and hamlets (ca. 1 ha), and numerous smaller farmsteads, all dated to the late Punic period by black-gloss fineware or amphoras.²³ The towns had densely built-up residential districts, with houses of *pisé* (packed earth wedged with wooden shutters) decorated with *opus signinum* floors, black-and-white mosaics, painted wall plaster, and stucco capitals. The villas were made of similar building materials. The presence of inland amphora kilns close to the villas suggests that agricultural products (wine or olive oil) were produced for export. This settlement pattern is not dissimilar from what has been found for coastal Sardinia in the Punic period.²⁴

Excavations at the fishing village Kerkouane on Cap Bon and the villa Gammarth near Carthage give us some idea of what the domestic architecture of these Libyo-Phoenician communities and villas would have been.²⁵ In

form, the houses usually had a long, narrow access corridor that led to a small central courtyard containing a cistern and, occasionally, a Greek-style peristyle. The rooms of the house were entered either from the courtyard or from one another. One of these rooms was almost always a bathroom containing a hipbath of a type attested elsewhere in the Hellenistic world.²⁶ The “villa” at Gammarth mainly differs from the houses at Kerkouane in being split between a residential section (with a bathroom) and a production section (with an olive press and several basins).²⁷ The Greek author Diodorus Siculus had described similar Carthaginian villas on the coast of Cap Bon “constructed in luxurious fashion and covered with stucco, which gave evidence of the wealth of the people who possessed them.”²⁸

When compared to Roman imperial architecture, these Punic dwellings are noteworthy in the way that clever craftsmanship made up for inexpensive and local building materials. Foundations were of clay-packed rubble and walls of mud brick. Cut stone was used only sparingly.²⁹ There was a general avoidance of baked brick, understandable in a region where wood was never plentiful. The cheapness of the building materials was concealed by the thick stucco that covered the walls and formed architectural elements such as column capitals. The floors were of *opus signinum* (cement decorated with pottery, marble, and glass fragments), beaten earth (presumably to be covered by carpets), or, more rarely, geometric black-and-white mosaic. The roofs were made from flat wooden beams (not roof tiles), forming platforms for terraces. With upkeep, these houses would have provided a high degree of comfort without a large initial investment. The disadvantage is that a Punic house is much harder to find archaeologically than a Roman one.

Outside these coastal areas, different settlement patterns and architectural styles prevailed. Major urban centers existed in the Numidian kingdom—for example, the royal city of Cirta, with its carefully planned residential neighborhoods. The building materials were similar to what was used on the coast, although the house plans bore little resemblance to the courtyard houses of Kerkouane.³⁰ The most striking difference between the coast and the interior was the absence of “villas” like those on Jerba or at Gammarth. Throughout most of the Numidian kingdom and the tributary districts of Carthage, small fortified towns (*oppida*) and villages (*castella*), rather than “villas,” dominated the landscape.³¹

A number of fortified pre-Roman *oppida* have been identified in both Tunisia and Algeria. They tend to be located on defensible spurs, surrounded by walls made of irregularly cut limestone blocks without mortar.³² The Segermes Survey in northern Tunisia documented two *oppida*, both located in foothills next to the mountains and possessing defensive walls.³³ The form of the structures within the walls is obscure, partly because Roman settlement often overlays them, and may have consisted of little more than “huts, gourbis, or tents that have not left a trace.”³⁴ At Numidian Tiddis, the pre-Roman houses appear to have been made of faced rubble wedged with more

substantial stones—an early form of *opus africanum*.³⁵ The presence of necropoleis, temples, or artisan workshops at many of these *oppida* indicate that they functioned as religious and economic centers in addition to places of habitation and refuge.³⁶

These fortified *oppida* are the most visible form of pre-Roman rural settlement, but lower-elevation, unfortified villages also existed. A number of collective necropoleis from the late Punic period have been discovered in the wadi valleys, without any visible remains of settlement nearby. At best, archaeologists find a scattering of late Punic pottery and money.³⁷ The inhabitants of such communities may have lived in *mapalia*, whose construction material, at least according to the Roman sources, consisted primarily of rushes or cane (materials difficult to find in archaeological survey).³⁸ Although the *mapalia* would enter Roman literature as a symbol of North African pastoralism, in the ethnographic sources they were inhabited by a farming population: Pomponius Mela, describing Africa in the 30s or 40s C.E., considered *mapalia* the main form of civilized settlement, superior to the *tuguria* of the pastoralists who carried their dwellings with them.³⁹ Given that the term is always used in the plural, what seems to have been envisioned by the Latin authors were clusters of *mapalia*, essentially undefended villages. These probably coexisted with dispersed huts occupied seasonally by farm laborers. Sallust, who had himself served as governor of Africa Nova, distinguished the huts (*tuguria*) of the cultivators from the *mapalia* and *oppida* where the grain was stored: “The huts were full of men, the animals and farmers were in the fields; the prefects of the king came out of the towns and the *mapalia* to meet him, ready to offer grain.”⁴⁰ The pre-Roman settlement pattern of inland Tunisia and Numidia might be summarized as consisting of a relatively small number of cities, numerous smaller fortified *oppida* in defensible places, open villages of *mapalia*, and temporary huts dispersed along the wadi banks.

The settlement patterns of the semipastoral areas are the hardest to identify. The written sources mention the *oppida* of tribes like the Gaetulians, but their more typical habitation was huts that could be easily moved.⁴¹ The Libyan Valleys Survey has done the best job identifying settlement from the pre-Roman era. The most promising candidates for the *oppida* are hilltop villages like Banat and Magrusa, waterless places fortified with drystone ramparts. These contained small, subrectangular dwellings abutting the rampart walls as well as a considerable amount of empty space, possibly for livestock.⁴² More numerous are small groups of semicircular hut foundations, sometimes associated with Neolithic stone tools. Their location on the plateaus overlooking the wadis suggests that the inhabitants were already farming the wadis before the Roman period.⁴³ It is reasonable to conclude that temporary huts and defensible villages constituted the main forms of settlement in these areas, inhabited by a population engaged in pastoralism and some wadi agriculture.

This brief summary gives some idea of the range of North African dwellings before the Roman conquest—from the Hellenized courtyard houses of the Punic coast to the *mapalia* of the farmers and the huts of the pastoralists. One common feature is worthy of note. Even in the urbanized coastal areas, there was a preference for local and relatively ephemeral building materials, such as mud brick, *pisé*, plaster, and plank or thatch roofs, in contrast to the brick, cut stone, and tiles favored by the Romans. In addition, there was relatively little differentiation between houses within communities, which suggests that North Africans did not, on the whole, choose to display status through their houses.⁴⁴ These differences, which have more to do with social structure than stage of economic development,⁴⁵ are one reason that pre-Roman settlement is difficult to find.

Pre-Roman Pottery Distribution

At the time of the Roman conquest, the tableware of the Punic coast—as for much of the western Mediterranean—was a hard, shiny black-glazed pottery usually known as black gloss. Carthaginians had first imported black gloss from Attica and Italy. While importation from Italy continued until the Roman conquest, Carthage also manufactured its own black gloss from the fourth century B.C.E. on, at first in imitation of Attic and Italian forms, but eventually to meet its own tastes.⁴⁶ This black-gloss tableware coexisted with a thriving industry of wheel-made “Punic” coarseware, whose forms mainly consisted of amphoras, cooking pots, and jugs. Punic coarseware did not, on the whole, compete with black gloss; each had their separate niche, with black gloss providing the open forms, and coarseware the closed.⁴⁷ Although other materials were occasionally used—the best-attested being bronze for wine jugs—⁴⁸ it seems that Carthaginians, like classical Greeks, primarily dined on pottery.

Black gloss has been employed as the primary means for dating pre-Roman settlement in the archaeological surveys, but outside a narrow geographical zone, it was a luxury available only to a few.⁴⁹ The *oppida* of the Tunisian and Algerian interior managed to obtain it (as well as large quantities of Punic coarsewares).⁵⁰ It has been found at elite tombs as far away as the Fezzan.⁵¹ However, the North African archaeological surveys (aside from the island Jerba) show only a weak presence of black gloss. In the recent Thugga Survey, of the sixty-four sites from the period 200–40 B.C.E., only seven had fineware; the rest were dated by the handmade pottery or physical remains.⁵² The Cillium and Caesarea surveys found only one sherd of black-gloss fineware respectively, even though this ceramic was present in Caesarea itself.⁵³ No black-gloss ware appeared at all in the Belezma, Libyan Valleys, or Sufetula surveys. Of course, these regions were not part of the Carthaginian empire, and were, in some cases, occupied by a seminomadic rather than sedentary population. Yet even in the immediate hinterland of Punic Carthage,

only 18 sites (out of a total of 156) had Punic-period fineware, and only in very small quantities.⁵⁴ These numbers do not accurately reflect the intensity of pre-Roman rural settlement, only that the majority of the inhabitants dined on something other than shiny black pottery.

What the people of the villages appear to have used instead was handmade pottery, often decorated with a reddish slip or geometric designs and fired low, probably by rural artisans.⁵⁵ Our best evidence for this pottery is from late Punic tombs in both Tunisia and Algeria.⁵⁶ At the necropolis at El Hkayma in the Sahel region of Tunisia, 73 percent of the tableware was handmade; 17 percent was black gloss; and 10 percent was Punic wheel-made. These percentages don't reveal the true predominance of handmade, in that only ten (out of eighty-nine) tombs had any black gloss, and only three of these contained imported black gloss as opposed to local imitations.⁵⁷ At the necropolis of Smirat, farther in the interior of the Sahel, no black gloss was found at all.⁵⁸ The tombs contained handmade bowls and basins as well as some Punic wheel-made amphoras ("jarres") and jugs. Both Smirat and El Hkayma were interpreted as the cemeteries of small agrarian settlements.

Although the most complete examples of this handmade pottery come from tombs, excavations and surveys of habitation sites show that handmade pottery was not just employed for burials but was part of people's everyday use. As mentioned above, fifty-seven sites in the Thugga Survey were dated to the late Punic period (200–40 B.C.E.) based on the presence of the handmade pottery. Excavations at Uzita, Kerkouane, Mactar, Simitthu (present-day Chemtou), Althiburos, and Tiddis have produced large quantities of the stuff (in addition to black gloss and wheel-made coarsewares).⁵⁹ Handmade tablewares have not been found, rather interestingly, in late Punic contexts at Carthage, Utica, or Hadrumetum.⁶⁰ It appears to have been a product of the rural communities and the small towns, not the coastal cities.

Part of the explanation for the popularity of these handmade wares was no doubt that they were locally produced and therefore cheaper than the black gloss, but it is also worth considering how they might have suited the tastes—and the cuisine—of North Africans better than a ceramic tradition imported from abroad. If we compare the forms, not just the wares, of the Punic coast to the interior, there are considerable differences in taste, even in the finewares. In the third and second centuries B.C.E., the inhabitants of Carthage and Kerkouane increasingly employed shallow dishes ("plates"), most of them of a medium size (10–16 cm diameter) suitable for use as individual eating vessels. These coexisted with small bowls ("cups"), sometimes handled, which were probably used for drinking.⁶¹ This trend toward shallow dishes (which was shared by the wider Hellenistic world, including Rome) suggests that, despite the Roman penchant for calling them "porridge-eaters," the Carthaginians were increasingly eating fairly solid foods such as bread, fish, and figs rather than liquid stews and porridges.⁶²

In the interior, medium-sized bowls remained the main tableware

throughout the late Punic period. In late Punic assemblages from the Sahel (Uzita, El Hkayma, and Smirat), the most popular forms were fairly deep bowls around fifteen centimeters in diameter, constituting 68 percent of the fineware from an excavated house at Uzita, 77 percent of fineware at the necropolis of El Hkayma, and 52 percent and 73 percent of the total assemblage at El Hkayma and Smirat. Shallow dishes (some of them quite large) come in a distant second—29 percent and 22 percent at Uzita and El Hkayma, and not at all at Smirat. Handled drinking vessels (very common at Carthage) were virtually nonexistent.⁶³ At the rural sites near Thugga (both at the necropolis of Thigibba Bure as well as at the survey sites), somewhat larger bowls (ca. 19–23 cm in diameter) were the most common form of tableware.⁶⁴ These were perhaps shared by several people, as is still done in parts of Tunisia today. The implication is that medium-sized bowls served as the main form of eating (and, probably, drinking) vessel in the small towns and rural communities of late Punic North Africa.

It is debatable whether the hut dwellers would have used pottery at all. There were nonceramic alternatives—wood, wicker, stone, gourds, and skins—some of which are referred to in the written sources. According to Mela, the inhabitants of the *mapalia* had vessels of wood or skin. Roman soldiers, during their war with Jugurtha, obtained wooden water vessels from the huts of the Numidians. The Greek ethnographic tradition described peoples of the interior using skins to carry water.⁶⁵ Decorated gourds have been found in the middens of the Tripolitanian predesert (though from settlements of late Roman rather than Punic date).⁶⁶ This was a material culture that would be difficult to find in archaeological survey.

To sum up, we find strong signs of Hellenistic influence on the North African coast, as demonstrated by the peristyle courtyard houses and the flat, shallow dishes and handled drinking vessels in the third and second centuries B.C.E. The interior—even the interior within Carthage’s tributary territory—was different. Villages rather than estates were the dominant form of rural settlement, with the implication of communal rather than private property ownership. A preference for medium-sized bowls suggests a diet based on porridge and stews rather than the Mediterranean bread and oil. The people did not have much use for imports, although they participated in a vibrant regional economy. In the villages, black-(or white-) gloss pottery—mostly of North African manufacture—could be obtained by certain families, for certain special occasions like burial. The majority had depended on local, even village sources for their pottery and architectural materials. Scholars should not be too ready to attribute these differences to a “simple” socioeconomic structure. As will be discussed below, coin finds suggest that even the Algerian interior had a monetized economy, certainly more monetized than under the first three centuries of Roman rule. But the world outside the coast was different from the Greek and Roman Mediterranean and requires different archaeological techniques to reconstruct.

THE IMPACT OF ROMAN RULE

Between 146 B.C.E. and 86 C.E., Rome occupied most of North Africa. The chronology of this conquest varied. The immediate hinterland of Carthage became the Roman province of Africa after 146 B.C.E. The Numidian kingdom of Masinissa (including the survey regions of Jerba, Bulla Regia, and possibly Segermes) was partly annexed in 46 B.C.E., after Caesar's African war, and completely in 25 B.C.E. Caesarea became the capital of the client kingdom of Mauretania (under Juba II) in 25 B.C.E.; Mauretania wasn't fully absorbed into the empire until 40 C.E. The predesert areas controlled by the Gaetulians and other tribal confederations remained independent the longest. Final incorporation may not have taken place until the defeat of the Garamantes in 70 C.E., or even of the Nasamonians in 86 C.E.⁶⁷ Thus most North Africans were not directly ruled by Rome until the Augustan period, and many not until the second half of the first century C.E. However, the entire period saw growing Roman influence, which is evidenced in the archaeological record by the disappearance of some of the most important pre-Roman ceramic industries and the large-scale importation of Roman goods.

Decline of North African Artisan Industries (146 B.C.E. –50 C.E.)

On a structural level, Roman hegemony changed North Africa only slowly.⁶⁸ There was more continuity in settlement patterns than in early Roman Greece. In the rural surveys, first-century fineware and amphoras were usually found at the same sites that had been occupied in late Punic period, especially in the coastal zones. Despite the (temporary) destruction of the city of Carthage, 52 percent (thirteen of twenty-five) of the late Punic sites in its territory continued to have datable pottery in the early Roman period (100 B.C.E.–100 C.E.). Only 35 percent of the early Roman sites were “new.”⁶⁹ In the Jerba Survey, occupation continued at all the important late Punic sites, including the three main towns and the villas, until the late first century C.E.⁷⁰ In the Thugga region, Roman rule brought somewhat greater disruption: only 30 percent (nineteen of sixty-four) of the pre-Roman sites continue into the early imperial period, and 39 percent (twelve of thirty-one) of the early imperial sites were “new.”⁷¹ Nevertheless, when we compare these percentages to Roman Greece, Africa seems to have made a smooth transition. In the archaeological surveys of Greece, site continuity between the Hellenistic and early Roman period is as high as 33 percent only in the most favored regions and as low as 3 percent in the Argolid Survey.⁷²

Even though the Roman colonies and some of the native coastal cities began quickly to mimic Roman public architecture,⁷³ the art and architecture of most of North Africa remained more Punic or Libyan than Roman until the second century C.E. Stelae in Tunisia and Tripolitania retained their Libyo-Punic forms through the end of the first century C.E. Pre-Roman sanctuaries—

like the open-air Punic sanctuaries (tophets) at Sabratha and Hadrumetum—remained in use until the second century C.E.⁷⁴ Punic religious cults and tomb types in fact appear to have experienced something of a renaissance, spreading to parts of Numidia and Tripolitania that had previously kept to their Libyan practices.⁷⁵ At a more mundane level, the houses and farms of the first century C.E. continued to be built out of traditional materials, such as plastered mud brick and beaten earth floors.⁷⁶ All of this suggests that even in those parts of North Africa that had been Roman territory for a century and a half, Roman and North African civilizations coexisted without yet melding into a new hybrid culture.

On the economic side, however, there are definite signs of disruption. North African black gloss went out of production at the end the first century B.C.E.⁷⁷ Excavations suggest that in addition the handmade pottery so popular in the villages was no longer made.⁷⁸ Neo-Punic amphoras persisted a little longer but were gradually supplanted by amphora styles that resembled those of Italy, Spain, or the eastern Mediterranean.⁷⁹ Only the wheel-made coarseware industry survived Roman occupation intact, continuing to make traditional cooking pots and other utilitarian wares with minimal change.⁸⁰

These regional products gave way to imports, particularly imports from Italy. North African black-gloss and handmade wares were replaced by “Roman” fineware such as Italian and Gaulish *sigillata*, thin-walled drinking vessels (both Italian and North African imitations), and—for those who could afford them—imported bronze and glass.⁸¹ Decorated Italian lamps became particularly popular, even in the Numidian interior.⁸² Imported amphoras, many of them carrying Italian wine, constituted a majority of the assemblage at early first-century Carthage and a third at the Tripolitanian city of Sabratha.⁸³ Even relatively utilitarian building materials like bricks were imported from Italy in the first and second centuries C.E.⁸⁴ This reliance on imports should not be viewed as a sign of prosperity, but rather dependence; as Michael Fulford notes, “There is considerable support for the thesis that periods of high ceramic imports of both containers and table or domestic-wares coincide with comparative depression in the local agrarian economy (and vice versa).”⁸⁵

As one might expect, many rural sites found it more difficult to obtain access to imported fineware and amphoras than to the locally manufactured wares of the late Punic period. The total number of “occupied” sites declined in those regions where late Punic settlement had been datable. In the Thugga region, the number of datable sites fell from sixty-four sites in the late Punic period (200–40 B.C.E.) to thirty sites in the early Roman period (40 B.C.E.–100 C.E.), and wouldn’t reach its pre-Roman levels again until the late empire.⁸⁶ In the Carthage Survey (which took account only of fineware and amphoras), the number fell from eleven sites in the second century B.C.E. to six sites in first century B.C.E. (though recovery here was faster).⁸⁷ Even the territory of Utica—a Roman ally and the first capital of the Roman province of Africa—

suffered a decline in the number of datable sites in the period 150 B.C.E.–100 C.E.⁸⁸

The incidence of coins provides further confirmation that local commodity exchange was at low ebb in the wake of the Roman conquest, particularly in rural areas. At the large fortified village (*castellimi*) of Tiddis in Numidia, 346 coins were dated to the third through first century B.C.E., most of them (308) the so-called “Numidian” coins.⁸⁹ Only 37 coins were datable to the first century C.E., and 41 to the second. In the Segermes Survey, 13 (12 percent) of the 109 coins dated to the Punic period (fourth-second century B.C.E.), and only 6 (5 percent) to the imperial period (100 B.C.E.–250 C.E.).⁹⁰ The numbers for the Thugga Survey were 4 coins (18 percent) from the Punic period (fourth-third century B.C.E.), none at all from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., and 1 coin from the second century C.E.⁹¹ Even in the cities, coins are much scarcer in early imperial contexts than in late Punic ones.⁹² To all appearances, the Romans introduced an economic disruption from which North Africa did not recover for several centuries.

This crisis in traditional artisan industries and exchange might be compared to the “deindustrialization” of nineteenth-century India, when not only the traditional hand-loom industry but also the workshops producing carpets, paper, pottery, brass objects, toys, glassware, shoes, and furniture disappeared when India was integrated into the European world market.⁹³ The only native manufacture that survived the invasion of foreign products was “petty commodity production”—the coarse, handmade cloth and other goods produced and consumed by the rural poor. However, whereas, in the Indian case, competition from European products is blamed for the collapse of local artisan industries, in Roman Africa different factors may have been involved. Some prestige may have been attached to Italian imports, but it is also possible that Roman tribute demands led to a redirection of labor—particularly rural labor—toward agricultural production, to the detriment of local manufacturing. Whatever the cause, North Africans became somewhat poorer during the first several centuries of Roman rule. Pre-Roman forms of settlement and commodity use persisted, but at a diminished level.

“Romanization” in the Second Century C.E.

In the late first and second centuries C.E., the changes usually labeled as “Romanization” set in, although—as will become clear below—cultural hybridity might be more apt a term.⁹⁴ As the North African landholding elite became “partners of empire” with the Roman state, a Roman settlement pattern developed, dominated by cities and estates.⁹⁵ North African commodity production revived; indeed, its products began to be exported throughout the Mediterranean. The golden age of Roman North Africa had begun. However, there were distinct winners and losers in the new economic order.⁹⁶

The Romans had an impact on settlement patterns, promoting the cities and estates at the expense of the *oppida* and villages. Certain towns—usually those that were officially recognized by the Roman state—rose to positions of regional dominance. On the island of Jerba, the *murex*-producing town Meninx expanded greatly during the second century (when it received municipal rights), acquiring a forum, a bathhouse, a circus, a theater, and an amphitheater. At the same time as Meninx rose to prominence, Bourgou, the other important town of pre-Roman Jerba, went into irreversible decline. The Punic farms and villas were abandoned in the same period, replaced by new, Romanized ones.⁹⁷

Outside the coastal areas, the major novelty of the late first century C.E. is the appearance of large farms dispersed along the arable wadi banks and the decline—in some cases, abandonment—of the villages. The most common farm type was the large courtyard farm, which consisted of a series of rooms arranged along the edges of a large rectangular enclosure (not unlike the late Punic farms at Jerba).⁹⁸ Such farms appeared in almost all the survey areas by the second century C.E. (the Belezma Survey being the exception). Their association with complex irrigation works and olive presses suggests that they produced crops for export, probably grain at first, and, by the second and third centuries, olive oil.

At the same time as these large farms were being built, the villages at the top of the rural settlement hierarchy in the late Punic period went into decline. A number of the fortified *oppida* studied by Naïdé Ferchiou were abandoned in the first or second century C.E.⁹⁹ The same is true for the coastal villages of the island of Jerba; only Ghizen remains important after first century C.E., apparently because it was turned into a large villa.¹⁰⁰ In the Cillium Survey, the mountainous Sector 3, which had displayed the strongest evidence for pre-Roman occupation, was almost entirely unoccupied (i.e., without datable ceramic) until the third or fourth century C.E.¹⁰¹ Even those villages that survived did not prosper. As I will discuss below, the villages of the Segermes, Libyan Valleys, and Caesarea surveys have miniscule amounts of imperial fineware when compared to the large farms.

As for changes in material culture, the second century witnessed the revival of North African commodity production, although now along Roman models. The imported pottery of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods gave way at the end of the first century C.E. to a new regional *sigillata*—African Red Slip—some of whose products were direct imitations of Italian *sigillata*.¹⁰² Although actual kilns from this period have yet to be located, early imperial African Red Slip (ARS) appears to have been manufactured in the Carthage/Nabeul regions of northern Tunisia and exported from there both to Italy and to other parts of North Africa.¹⁰³

The manufacture of other new Romanized commodities was concentrated in the outskirts of the municipalities.¹⁰⁴ At Meninx on Jerba, several industrial quarters were built in the second century C.E., including a purple dye—

processing facility and amphora kilns (representing the bottling of local oil and wine). The old amphora kilns near Punic villas went out of use.¹⁰⁵ A survey of pottery kilns in central Tunisia has indicated that it was a general trend for amphora and coarseware manufacture to be concentrated on the edges of the Romanized towns in the first through third century C.E. (a pattern that would change in the late empire).¹⁰⁶ Not just pottery but a whole range of goods was being produced by such urban workshops, including cloth, mosaics, glass, metal tools, water pipes, bone boxes, awls, sewing needles, cosmetic spoons, hairpins, terracotta mortuary masks, and figurines.¹⁰⁷ This concentration of manufacturing in the cities has been viewed in a positive light, as a sign that Roman cities were producers and not merely “parasites” on their rural hinterland.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps this is true, but from the perspective of the rural hinterland, it created a new dependency on urban centers for basic commodities. *Oppida* like Tiddis in Numidia, which had been centers of local artisan production in the late Punic period, now had to import commodities from the cities (or do without).¹⁰⁹

Although the main consumers of these products resided in the towns, the residents of villas enjoyed a partial participation in the new material culture. Along the coast near Lepcis Magna, a number of luxury villas were fitted up in the second century C.E. with peristyles, bathhouses, figurative wall paintings, and marble and mosaic floors. Similar pleasure villas have been found in other coastal regions, such as Sabratha, Tipasa, and Hippo Regius.¹¹⁰ They were not centered on a courtyard as in the towns, but rather spread along access corridors to maximize the inhabitants’ views of the sea. The inscriptions and occupational histories of at least some of these villas suggest that they were owned by the wealthy families of native cities like Lepcis, not by Roman colonists.¹¹¹

Outside the coast, such luxury villas were rare. Instead large courtyard farms, clearly designed for agricultural production, not comfort, appear in the late first and second centuries. Yet even these utilitarian farms brought the new “Romanized” material culture to the countryside to a certain degree. They were built from construction materials such as *opus quadratum* or cement mortar that had rarely been used in the pre-Roman period.¹¹² Moreover, they sometimes had a few comfortable rooms fitted up for occasional occupation by the owner or administrator.¹¹³ Even at the basic farms, whose space is almost entirely devoted to production facilities, there are substantial quantities of imported *terra sigillata* and ARS, as well as the occasional imported glass and bronze.¹¹⁴

It would be a mistake, however, to see this diffusion of Mediterranean styles of architecture and objects as “Romanization” in any simplistic sense. The “classic” Roman house, centered on an *atrium* rather than an open courtyard, made little headway in North Africa. For their urban mansions the North African elite instead chose a peristyle plan that resembled preexisting Hellenized Punic styles.¹¹⁵ Nor was the courtyard farm so much a Roman

import as a Hellenistic one, already appearing on the Punic coast by the third century B.C.E.¹¹⁶ The arrangement of domestic space differed in significant ways from Roman homes. It would seldom have been possible for a person standing on the street to see into the center of a North African house.¹¹⁷ The entryways were not centrally placed between the courtyard and the street as in Italy, but rather to the side, often separated by an additional room or corridor. The main dining room remained close to the entryway so that visitors would not need to traverse the entire peristyle to reach it. There was a high degree of “seclusion,” with rooms often entered from another room rather than directly from the courtyard.¹¹⁸ In these respects, Romano-African homes resembled Greek houses more than they did Italian, with the implication that North Africans placed a similar value on domestic privacy and female modesty.¹¹⁹

It may also be doubted whether the shift from glossy black to glossy red fineware really represents a significant change in dining practices. If we pay attention to the shapes, not just the fabric, of the vessels found at imperial North African sites, we see a continued preference for bowls over flat plates (which may represent a diet based on porridge—i.e., couscous—as opposed to bread). At the Libyo-Phoenician town of Uzita, the second- and early third-century ARS consists of about the same proportion of bowls to flat plates as in the late Punic period.¹²⁰ In the Segermes Survey, the medium-sized bowls (15–18 cm in diameter) accounted for 81 percent (93 of 115) of the early imperial ARS, and the flat plates only 10 percent.¹²¹ At the imperial necropolis of Sitifis in Algeria (where the coarseware could be taken into account) there were no flat plates at all.¹²² When we add to this the continuity of the cooking pots, it seems likely that North Africans were retaining much of their traditional cuisine and table manners.

The imperial North African “banquet” mosaics strengthen the impression that North Africans—even urban, wealthy decurions—were not becoming Italian in the ways they used Roman commodities. A third-century mosaic from Thugga shows two men standing to receive drinks from four male servants (fig. 4). Two of the servants (probably slaves, judging from their loincloths and necklaces) pour wine directly from amphoras into rather large orange bowls held out by the drinkers.¹²³ One of the servants also holds a smaller jug, probably containing water for mixing. A similar scene is found on a mosaic from a town house in the colony Uthina.¹²⁴ The drinker (Fructus) stands, holding out a medium-sized shallow bowl to a servant (Myro), who is pouring from an amphora. A second servant (Victor) stands behind with another amphora. In the well-known Mosaic of the Bulls and the Banquet from Thysdrus (El Djem), also dated to the early third century C.E., five drinkers sit or recline around the edge of what has been interpreted to be an amphitheater, making statements about their intention to drink (“bibere venimus”).¹²⁵ One of the drinkers is holding a medium-sized red bowl in his hand. Two glass goblets are also present. Attendants prepare the drinks from a small table, on which stand two small one-handed jugs (presumably

containing the water).



FIGURE 4. Thugga, Slaves serving wine mosaic. Bardo Museum, Tunis. Photograph © Nicolas Fauqué / www.imagesdetunisie.com.

On the one hand, there is much that is Roman about these representations. The North Africans, like the Romans, are mixing their wine with water—and doing so in the cup, not in a Greek krater.¹²⁶ Their dress—tunics decorated with vertical *clavi*—is Roman, as is their physical context (i.e., the amphitheater) and Latin language. They are using Roman-style commodities—glass goblets and red (not black) pottery. On the other hand, if we compare these North African mosaics to representations of drinking from Roman Italy (taking as a sample twenty-four Italian sarcophagi), there are important differences.¹²⁷ First of all, the North Africans, at least some of the time, are drinking out of medium-sized ceramic bowls. The Italian drinking vessels are beakers, goblets, and two-handled canthari. On only two occasions (nos. 37b and 47b) do they seem to be bowls, and these are small “cups,” not the large bowls of the North African mosaics. A second difference is the presence of food. All but two of the Italian representations involve the consumption of bread, fish, or meat (eaten off flat platters) as well as drink. In the North African mosaics, drinking is the sole activity represented. A third difference is the gender of the participants. Half of the Italian banquets (twelve of twenty-four) included women, either as diners or attendants (or both). For North Africans (like the Greeks), drinking was a male activity. Even the attendants are men. North Africans had adopted Roman goods, but not necessarily Roman styles of using these goods.

All of this goes to show not that wealthy North Africans were “resisting” Roman rule by drinking out of bowls and retaining some non-Roman ideas about sexual segregation, but rather that the civilization created by the Roman occupation of North Africa was an imperial one. The North Africans had gone beyond simple importation or imitation of Roman goods and were by the

second century adapting these goods to suit their own tastes.¹²⁸ They were perhaps a little readier to adopt without modification those practices like public bathing and dress that, in Roman eyes, particularly distinguished the civilized from uncivilized man. What one did in the privacy of one's own home was more amenable to local tradition.

This new hybridized material culture was not, however, for everyone; indeed, part of its attraction was exclusivity. The stone-built peristyle houses and courtyard farms demanded a larger initial investment (though perhaps less subsequent maintenance) than their late Punic predecessors. Importing marble from the coastal ports—or even ARS from northern Tunisia—was expensive in a region without internal water transport. The need to go to the city rather than one's local village for cooking pots might have been enough to take them out of the reach of a small farmer. Add to this the fact that Roman rule brought with it new forms of social differentiation—distinctions between citizen and peregrine, and between *urbanus* and rustic—that created barriers to consumption (what economists call “transaction costs”) beyond that of price. In consideration of all of this, it is not surprising that in both the written and the archaeological sources we find a growing inequality in material culture, with the decurions building peristyle homes and drinking wine from ARS bowls, while the majority of the population was reduced to a radius of exchange and level of quality that makes them all but archaeologically invisible. This inequality was not, as has often been proposed, an uneven Romanization, but rather an integral part of Romanization.

THE “NONCONSUMERS” OF IMPERIAL NORTH AFRICA

Exclusion is most obvious for certain interior and mountainous zones, where not even the well-off had access to the new “Romanized” commodities.¹²⁹ In an archaeological survey of southwest Numidia, no fine pottery that predated the fourth century C.E. was found at all, even though imperial inscriptions demonstrate that the region was inhabited. This may have been partly due to physical conditions, but perhaps even more to the fact that the people lived hundreds of miles from the production centers of ARS.¹³⁰ Excavations have shown that even the cities in the Algerian interior found it difficult to obtain imperial fineware, although not from any disinclination to do so. The inhabitants of the colony Sitifis in the late first through early third century C.E. buried their dead with coarseware imitations of Italian thin-walled goblets and even coarseware imitations of Tunisian ARS.¹³¹ The only imports they obtained in any quantity were decorated Italian lamps, and these were antiques by the time they buried them. Lamps, found in second- or even third-century graves, dated to the first century C.E., suggesting either an indirect

supply from more favored parts of North Africa or a tendency to preserve the lamps for generations.¹³² Despite inhabiting a Roman colony, the people of Sitifis, with very few exceptions, “were limited to self-sufficiency and the local market.”¹³³ With the cities struggling to obtain fineware, it is unsurprising that the rural settlements of the Algerian interior had none at all.

The situation was different in the regions closer to the coast. In the territories of Carthage or Segermes, imperial *sigillata*—both imported and ARS—clearly reached rural markets; the only question is whether it penetrated beyond the rural elite.

In these regions, the sites with imperial fineware (1–250 C.E.) are uniformly the large ones, not anything that might have been a small farm (the size being judged by square meters of visible architectural remains or ceramic scatter). In the territory of Segermes, a small *municipium* about sixty-five kilometers from Carthage, eight of the nine sites with first-century fineware were 10,000 square meters (1 ha) or more in area (see [table 1](#)). By the second century, sites of 1,000–10,000 square meters were gaining ground (constituting 37 percent of sites with fineware), but those of one hectare or more still predominated. Only in the first half of the third century was there more than one site smaller than 1,000 square meters (four of fifteen sites), and these were all more than 500 square meters.¹³⁴ Large sites predominated even more in the other surveys. In the Carthage Survey (see [table 2](#)), no sites with an area of less than 1,000 square meters had pottery datable to the Principate (1–250 C.E.). The majority, even in the early third century, spread over one hectare or more.

In the Sufetula Survey as well, only very large sites were found with pottery predating the fourth century C.E. None of the seven sites whose area has been published was less than one hectare, and three were more than ten hectares.¹³⁵ In the more intensive Cillium (Kasserine) Survey, of the eight sites with second-century fineware, four were large farms (1,000 m²+),¹³⁶ two were agglomerations (5+ ha),¹³⁷ and only one might be considered a small farm, though it was more likely to have been a subsidiary building of a nearby large farm.¹³⁸ By the third century, ARS was appearing at hut clusters in the hills of Djebel Selloum and at a small L-shaped building, but smaller sites as a whole did not begin to obtain significant amounts of fineware until the fourth century.¹³⁹ Rural settlement in the territory of Caesarea Mauretaniae, a provincial capital and coastal port, followed a similar pattern. Only one of the thirty-five sites with imperial ARS was less than 500 square meters in area, and only six sites were 500–1,000 square meters. The majority (twenty-two) were between 1,000 square meters and 1 hectare, and five were more than 1 hectare.¹⁴⁰

TABLE 1 Size of sites with imperial fineware in the Segermes Survey, 1–250 C.E.

Period (c.E)	<500 m ²	<1,000 m ²	1,000–10,000 m ²	1–2 ha	2 ha+
1–50	0	0	0	1	2
50–100	0	0	1	4	1
100–150	0	1	3	1	2
150–200	0	1	4	5	2
200–250	0	4	5	4	2
1–250	0	5	8	5	3

TABLE 2 Size of sites with 1+ sherds in the Carthage Survey, 1–250 C.E.

Period (c.E)	<500 m ²	<1,000 m ²	1,000–5,000 m ²	5,000–10,000 m ²	1–2 ha	2–10 ha
1–100	0	0	3	6	5	2
100–200	0	0	3	3	3	3
200–250	0	0	4	4	6	4
1–250	0	0	9	15	15	8

Only in the Libyan Valleys Survey did a significant number of small sites—most of them drystone “farmsteads”—have early imperial fineware, and these declined in number as Romanization set in (see [table 3](#)). In the most intensive survey areas, 51 percent (nineteen of thirty-seven) of the findspots of first-century pottery extended 500 square meters or less. This dropped to 33 percent (twenty-five of seventy-six) of the findspots of second- to early third-century pottery. Small sites may have been unusually common here early on because of the persistence of non-Roman patterns of distribution among the inhabitants of this remote, tribal region.¹⁴¹

This predominance of large sites was shared by other regions of the early imperial Mediterranean, with the important difference that preimperial settlement can more often be compared. In archaeological surveys of Greece, the number of “tiny sites” steeply declined between the classical period (when they constituted 49 percent of the total) and the early empire (when they constituted only 11 percent).¹⁴² As one would expect, this corresponded to an overall drop in “settlement density.”¹⁴³ The datable sites of the early Roman period tended to be large: in Boeotia, for example, there were farms of approximately 2,500 square meters or more and a few villages of 1 hectare or more.¹⁴⁴ In Italy as well, small sites stopped having fineware, and large farms began to dominate the landscape by the first century C.E.¹⁴⁵

TABLE 3 Size of sites with imperial fineware in the Libyan Valleys Survey, 50–250 C.E.

Period (C.E.)	< 500 m ²	500–1000 m ²	1,000–10,000 m ²	1–2 ha	Total
50–100	19 (51%)	7 (19%)	11 (30%)	0	37
100–250	25 (33%)	20 (26%)	28 (37%)	3 (4%)	76

SOURCE: Data from Scott, Dore, and Mattingly (1996).

NOTE: The data shown are for selected wadis: Wadi Merdum (173–99 C.E.), Wadi Umm el-Agerem (19–31 C.E.), Wadi Gobbeen (86–97 C.E.), Wadi Ghirza (106–20 C.E.), and Wadi Umm el-Kharab (131–49 C.E.). I chose these wadis specifically because many of the small sites had finewares, which might have biased the results. However, the more frequent occurrence of finewares was probably due to the intensity of the survey.

When archaeologists first began to discover these patterns in Italy and Greece, there was talk of demographic decline in the early imperial period. The inclination at the moment is to speak of settlement nucleation. Susan Alcock has suggested that in Greece the larger estates of the early imperial period grew at the expense of the “small-scale or modest proprietors.”¹⁴⁶ The laboring population moved either onto these estates or into the villages or towns. Similar explanations have been offered for the disappearance of the small agrarian sites in imperial Italy.¹⁴⁷ The problem with the settlement nucleation explanation for North Africa is that the large courtyard farms of the high empire (whose form is better understood than their equivalents in Italy or Greece) provide little or no space for a resident workforce. Peasants may have lived in huts or tenancies elsewhere on the estate—as we shall see, there is some evidence that they did—but not on the main farm.¹⁴⁸ This leads us back to the problem of determining where they lived.

An alternative explanation for the absence of small sites in the surveys is that farmsteads and huts existed during the imperial period, but their inhabitants were not dining on fineware. In some recent surveys, where both fine and coarseware pottery was able to be dated, archaeologists have demonstrated that early imperial sites might have differential access to fineware.¹⁴⁹ In the Biferno Survey (Italy), many of the smaller rural sites lacked fineware during the period 80 B.C.E.–250 C.E. and were identified only through the coarse pottery.¹⁵⁰ In a survey of the valley of Marignane in southern France, almost half of the pottery at the dominant settlement was fineware, but the neighboring small agrarian sites had little except coarsewares.¹⁵¹ In the Methana Survey in Greece, the coastal sites (mostly large farms) obtained *sigillata* from the late first to early third century, while the farms and small villages of the mountains had only the regional Çandarlı ware. The authors conclude that this pattern is “linked to the way that fine pottery did not penetrate beyond the point of entry and the main urban centre.”¹⁵²

Although we are not yet at the point where North African coarsewares are understood sufficiently to allow similar comparisons, archaeologists have been able to find some small agrarian dwellings that seem to be early imperial in date. The Segermes Survey discovered a few square one- or two-room buildings (less than 100 m²), constructed out of clay-packed boulders and without datable ceramic. A Roman-period occupation for at least some of

these dwellings is suggested by their construction technique, as well as, in one instance, the proximity of a cement barrel-vault tomb.¹⁵³ Philippe Leveau also found small two-room “huts with rounded corners” in the territory of Caesarea Mauretaniae, in one case associated with body sherds of early ARS.¹⁵⁴ He believed that if his survey methodology had been more intensive, such tiny sites would have been far more common.¹⁵⁵ Future surveys may discover that such huts and small farms were in fact the most common settlement type in imperial North Africa, as the textual sources suggest.

In addition to the scarcity of (datable) small sites, a second reason for believing that much of the rural population didn’t have access to fineware in the imperial period is its weak presence in the villages. If we compare the quantities of fineware found in the villages and on large farms, it becomes clear that the farms—in their North African guise as large (1,000 m²+), well-constructed, but fundamentally utilitarian agricultural complexes—had preferential access to fineware. The villages, though surpassing the large farms in area and population, are seldom found with comparable amounts before the fourth century C.E.

These villages of the imperial period come in several different guises—small “hamlets” whose inhabitants probably worked the large farms, and independent villages that seem to occupy their own land. Although hamlets have been found in all the major survey areas, their chronology is best understood for the Tripolitanian pre-desert, where large farms and hut hamlets had a symbiotic relationship in the second and early third centuries. Both farms and huts were dispersed along the wadis, often in near proximity to one another. In the Wadi Umm el-Agerem, the three large farms (Ag. 45, Ag. 1, and Ag. 7) were spaced one to two kilometers apart. The “farmsteads” were in two cases (Ag. 41 and Ag. 50) close to a large farm, but more typically farther down the wadi on their own land. The “huts” were located along the wadi in between or next to the main farms, without their own clearly defined space. Ag. 55—a cluster of huts (8,000 m²+) across the wadi from the large *opus africanum* farm Ag. 7—might be considered a peasant hamlet dependent on the farm.¹⁵⁶

Table 4 summarizes the fineware distribution for such hut hamlets, farmsteads, and large farms at the Wadis Umm el-Agerem and Ghirza. As the data in the first column of the table show, the large farms always had fineware, slightly more than half of the farmsteads had it, and only one third of the huts—even in the most favorable survey areas—had it. The ratio of sherds to area (which overestimates the amount of fineware at huts and farmsteads, since sites without fineware were excluded) was calculated to show that the size of the settlement was not the major factor in determining presence of fineware. The ratio varies from wadi to wadi but consistently suggests that a 100 square meter *opus africanum* farm would have had ten to thirty times more fineware than 100 square meters of huts. Population was therefore even less of a factor, since the large farms contained significantly

less space designed for human habitation than hut groups of comparable size. Power and wealth, not population, determined access to fineware.

TABLE 4 Imperial fineware distribution in selected wadis in the Libyan Valleys Survey, 50–250 C.E.

	Sites (no. with fineware/total)	Sherds	Area (m ²)	Ratio (sherds/100 m ²)
Wadi Umm el-Agerem				
Hut hamlets	5/15	10	23,037	0.043
Farmsteads	7/13	14	73,470	0.019
Large farms	2/2	30	6,608	0.45
Wadi Ghirza				
Hut hamlets	6/16	7	55,470	0.013
Farmsteads	7/9	29	6,739	0.43
Large farms	13/13	82	20,084	0.41

SOURCE: Data from Scott, Dore, and Mattingly (1996), 19–31 and 106–20.

The independent villages do not fare much better than the hamlets in their ability to obtain fineware. The two agricultural villages that Leveau considered most typical of the Caesarea region—Boulalem (no. 165) and El Arba (no. 201), both over two hectares in area—had only four and five sherds, respectively, of early imperial fineware. Most of the *opus africanum* farms had at least as much, and the villas, such as no. 19 and no. 163 (whose area was less than one eighth that of the villages) had ninety-three and thirty-three sherds, respectively.¹⁵⁷ These impressionist interpretations are confirmed if we compare the early fineware at all sites of these two categories. As is clear in table 5, not only did the large farms have a higher average number of datable sherds per site (twenty-six to fourteen), but when we consider the ratio of sherds to area, the farms had a purchasing power out of proportion to their size and population, with more than thirty times more fineware for their size than the villages.

In the Segermes region, the large farms' better access to fineware is less pronounced (see table 6), perhaps in part because this region was much closer to the production centers of ARS. Nonetheless, the large farms still had more than five times more fineware for their size than the villages. Although without excavation there are problems with the data (mainly because the area of surface remains may not represent the size of the site in the period under consideration), it nevertheless seems clear that the inhabitants of villages had a much harder time accumulating luxury pottery than did the inhabitants of large farms.

TABLE 5 Imperial fineware distribution in the Caesarea Survey, 1–250 C.E.

	Sites with fineware	Sherds	Area (m ²)	Ratio (sherds/ 100 m ²)
Large farms	23	609	32,560	1.9
Villages	13	178	219,000	0.06

SOURCE: Based on data from Leveau (1984), large farms nos. 30, 87, 188, 108, 152, 195, 69, 85, 163, 191, 107, 151, 174, 181, 197, 203, 224, 84, 139, 150, 177, 149, 178; villages nos. 209, 143, 196, 165, 201, 221, 20, 70, 155, 171, 202, 203, 198.

NOTE: For the second two columns, I have included only sites with published ceramic and area, which were all of the farms, but only seven of the thirteen villages.

TABLE 6 Imperial fineware distribution in the Segermes Survey, 1–250 C.E.

	Sites with fineware	Sherds	Area (m ²)	Ratio (sherds/ 100 m ²)
Large farms	8	30	19,123	0.16
Villages	4	55	160,000	0.03

To sum up, an analysis of the relative amounts of fineware on large farms, villages, and smaller sites suggests that the large farms of the high empire attracted far more than their share. The villages just managed to be archaeologically datable. Only intensive survey under favorable conditions can uncover the small, coarsely constructed dwellings in which most people lived, and these very rarely have fineware. The question remains why such a wide gap separated the material culture of the rich and the poor in imperial North Africa. Archaeology alone cannot provide the answer.

NONCONSUMERS IN APULEIUS’S *METAMORPHOSES*

A similar picture of rustic nonconsumption is presented in the only literary text from imperial North Africa to discuss rural settlement, Apuleius of Madauros’s *Metamorphoses* (better known as *The Golden Ass*). Apuleius was a native of the colony Madauros in Proconsular Numidia, where his father had been a *duumvir*. Like his later fellow African Augustine, Apuleius escaped his hometown by means of a good rhetorical education, first in Carthage and later in Greece. Ca. 155 C.E. he married a wealthy widow in Tripolitania and ca. 161 returned to Carthage. He probably composed the *Metamorphoses* fairly late in his career, in the 170s or even 180s.¹⁵⁸ This novel was a very loose

adaptation of a Greek novel that survives in an epitomized form under the title of *Lucius*.¹⁵⁹ Set partly in the countryside, it is the only text by a North African author that describes the rural landscape comprehensively enough to assist in finding Latin equivalents for archaeological constructs like “hut,” “village,” and “large farm.” And it is certainly the only text to endow the inhabitants of this landscape with such things as drinking vessels, storage containers, and lamps, providing some confirmation for the patterns of distribution discerned in archaeological survey. It is important to consider not so much because its author intended it to be a realistic portrait of the North African countryside (indeed, it is set in Greece), but because it communicates some of the formative values that shaped the North African (and Greek) landscape in the Roman period.

The settlement patterns and ceramic distribution of the *Metamorphoses* bear some notable similarities to the archaeological surveys. Wealthy landowners primarily reside in the *civitates*, although they would sometimes visit their estates.¹⁶⁰ Apuleius seems to have considered it strange for the rich to have their primary seat in the countryside. In two cases, he revised his Greek source so that characters with property would reside in a *civitas* instead of a village or farm. In *Lucius*, the priests of a Syrian goddess received hospitality on the estate of a rich man (*Lucius* 1.39). In Apuleius, the rich man has become the “principal man” of a noble *civitas* and resides in an urban mansion (*Met.* 8.30). In *Lucius*, thieves captured a beautiful young woman from a wealthy family residing in a village, who, after her release, rewarded Lucius by placing him in her family’s farmhouse.¹⁶¹ Apuleius retained her wealth but made her (Charité) into a woman of high birth residing in a *civitas* instead of a village.¹⁶² The main exception to his preference for urban residence for the well-off was a middle-class landowner (“paterfamilias” and “dominus fundorum”) in a *pagus*—a submunicipal collective of Roman citizens. This man resided with his sons and slaves on a working farm (*ager*), growing grain and olives, raising chickens, and fermenting wine in the *dolia* of his cellar.¹⁶³ His farm resembled the courtyard farms found in archaeological surveys, with a yard (*area*) where the chickens ran loose adjoining the room where the landlord entertained his guests.¹⁶⁴ His rural residence may have been due to his membership in *apagus* rather than a *civitas*.¹⁶⁵

As for the rustics, they sometimes lived in villages (*castella*) or, on one occasion, in a *villa*, but their most typical form of habitation in Apuleius was the *casula*, which the grammarians define as “a rustic dwelling roofed with posts and brushy thatch.”¹⁶⁶ A poor market gardener inhabited a *casula* “with a brushy roof.”¹⁶⁷ Another free “pauper” owned a small *casula* that bordered the expansive estates of a noble landlord (*Met.* 9.35). A slave horse-keeper inhabited a *casula* on the estate of an absentee landlord, close to the *casae* of other *rusticani* (primarily shepherds) of the same estate.¹⁶⁸ He and his wife supplemented their income by selling wood, tow, and ground barley to the

neighboring *coloni*, at least one of whom also lived in a *casula*.¹⁶⁹ When travelers passed through the countryside, *casulae* were the most common form of habitation they saw.¹⁷⁰

The independent villages (*castella*) come in second as the places where one encounters rustics.¹⁷¹ When itinerant priests spent the night in a *castellum*, a *colonus* was convinced by a false prophecy to give them a ram (*Met.* 8.29). The same priests lured another *rusticanus* to their lodgings with the promise of a meal, though really to have sex with him (*Met.* 8.29). The implication is that both of these rustics lived in the *castellum*. In addition to *rusticani*, artisans resided in the *castella*—a baker/miller (*Met.* 9.10.18; cf. *Lucius* 1.42) and a fuller (*Met.* 9.24–25).

The only time that *coloni* were described as living on the main farm of an estate was in *Metamorphoses* 8.17, where a band of runaway slaves encountered the *coloni* of a *villa*. These *rusticani*, thinking the slaves were robbers and “fearful for their own property,” set guard dogs upon them and then threw stones “from the tops of the roofs and the nearest hill.”¹⁷² This may have been the sort of dependent “hamlet” discovered by the archaeological surveys.

If we analyze Apuleius’s incidental references to storage containers, drinking vessels, and lamps, a world emerges in which the inhabitants of the *civitates* and, to a lesser extent, the *villae* and *pagi* possessed ceramic and sometimes precious metals, while the inhabitants of the *casulae* and *castella* used wood or skin vessels. Of the forty-one references to nonorganic vessels in the novel, thirty were placed in *civitates*, usually in the context of dining (see table 7).¹⁷³ Apuleius made a special point to mention when goblets or *vascula* were of precious metal (gold, silver, lead-silver alloy), suggesting that his default material was ceramic or glass.¹⁷⁴

Outside of the towns, it was mainly traveling officials or landlords who possessed nonorganic vessels. A wealthy *duumvir* of Corinth took vessels (*vasa*) with him when he traveled through the countryside on business.¹⁷⁵ The governor lost a silver *vasculum* on the road.¹⁷⁶ On the villas or large farms, Apuleius implies that pottery, rather than precious metal, would be in use. At a rich man’s *villa* (which had been a village in *Lucius*), traveling priests received a jug (*cadus*) of wine as a gift.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, the paterfamilias with the large farm promised two jugs (*cadi*) of wine to a poor gardener and served his guests drinks in *pocula*.¹⁷⁸

TABLE 7 Vessels in Apuleius’s *Metamorphoses*

Vessel type	Total	Metal	In civitates	In other locations
<i>vas/vasiolum</i>	3	0	2	1 (<i>regiones</i>)
<i>vasculum</i>	7	5	6	1 (<i>in via</i>)
<i>calix</i>	9	2	8	1 (<i>turris</i>)
<i>cantharus</i>	3	2	1	2 (<i>temple in pagus; turris</i>)
<i>cadus</i>	3	0	1	2 (<i>villa; fundus</i>)
<i>discus</i>	1	0	1	0
<i>oenophorus</i>	3	0	3	0
<i>lucerna</i>	9	0	7	2 (<i>villa; pagus</i>)
<i>dolium</i>	3	0	1	2 (<i>fundus; pagus</i>)
Total vessels	41	9	30	11

Apuleius never refers to metal or ceramic vessels in the *casulae* or *castella*. When the gardener who lived in a brushwood *casula* was offered olive oil, grain, and wine as gifts for providing hospitality to the neighboring paterfamilias, he brought sacks and skins (not *amphorae*) to carry the gifts away.¹⁷⁹ Thieves returned from raiding a *castellum* with skins of wine (*Met.* 7.11.1). The adulterous wives of artisans in a *castellum* (the miller and the fuller) hid their lovers in wicker flour tubs, or wooden baskets, not *dolia*.¹⁸⁰ The miller's wife cooked a sumptuous meal of meat and wine, but Apuleius gave no information as to the vessels in which it was served (*Met.* 9.22).

The only poor man in the *Metamorphoses* who was described as using ceramic was an artisan in a *pagus*, and Apuleius made it clear that his lamp and *dolium* were valuable commodities.¹⁸¹ The artisan's wife complained that she spun all day so that they at least could burn a lamp, while her husband came home empty-handed (the expense here was probably the oil used as fuel).¹⁸² He answered that he had found someone to buy their old *dolium* for six *denarii* (the wife then cleverly had her lover—who was hidden in the *dolium*—purchase it for seven *denarii*). To put the price into perspective, seven *denarii* was enough in North African alimentary inscriptions to support a child for three months.¹⁸³ For some households, even such utilitarian wares as lamps and *dolia* could constitute luxuries.

Apuleius provides some textual confirmation for patterns discerned in the archaeological record. Small rustic habitations (*casulae*) existed but were no more likely to have fineware in them than the huts found in archaeological surveys. The villages were hardly better off. Only village artisans—the baker of the *castellum*, for example—were able to accumulate much wealth, and they did so in a very rustic way. For a craftsman in a *pagus*, a lamp and a *dolium* could be expensive—and dispensable—commodities. The main consumers in the countryside were traveling officials and landlords visiting (or living on) their estates. Apuleius does not, however, attribute this inequality of material culture to any *cultural* difference on the part of the rustics—the survival of indigenous cultural forms, for instance—but rather to their poverty, a poverty that appears to him perfectly natural.

PEASANTS, MARKETS, AND ROMAN IDEOLOGY

I have argued above that most North African peasants were not acquiring fineware in the first through third century C.E. For many historians of the ancient economy, this will come as no great surprise. Italian *sigillata* and early African Red Slip were products distributed from the towns to rural areas. Most historians of the ancient economy believe that rural populations, if they participated at all in the market, did so at a very local level.¹⁸⁴ Even when peasants sold their produce at urban markets, their main form of consumption was “horizontal”—goods acquired by one rural settlement from another. We can see the operation of this sort of exchange in Apuleius.¹⁸⁵

Yet even by the standards of other ancient peasant economies, rural consumption in the first and second centuries C.E. seems very, very low.¹⁸⁶ There was a surprising lack of integration of urban and rural markets even within the same city’s territory. And despite concerted archaeological efforts, there has not been much progress in identifying local artisan manufacturing that may have been part of “horizontal” consumption—for example, a vigorous production of coarsewares that peasants were using instead of fineware (most coarseware industries tend to be late antique).¹⁸⁷ Yet this was a time when the Roman economy as a whole arguably reached its peak, and rural labor was likely “underemployed,” especially during the winter season, leaving room for the development of rural artisan industries.¹⁸⁸

Given our understanding of “rational” economic behavior, the reason for such low levels of rural consumption is likely to have been either a lack of peasant demand (whether because of extreme inequality or insufficient “Romanization”) or social constraints placed on peasant participation in the “market.”¹⁸⁹ The tendency of the scholarship has been to emphasize the former, recently repackaged as a form of cultural resistance against Roman imperialism.¹⁹⁰ It is worth also considering the latter.

An instructive modern parallel might be the early nineteenth-century Yucatan. Large Spanish-American haciendas were established on what had been the land of the local Indians. The haciendas were aimed at producing exports (primarily cattle) for the overseas market. Most of the Indians, however, remained separate from the colonial economy. Instead of seeking wage labor on the haciendas and buying Spanish-American goods, they intensified subsistence agriculture in their small house-lot gardens and raised small livestock for their own use.¹⁹¹ Their domestic architecture reflected their lack of integration. In the main town and the haciendas, residences were commonly constructed with Spanish-American masonry. In the pueblos (villages with priests) and ranchos (independent settlements), the majority of the houses were built according to traditional, nonmasonry techniques, the only exceptions being a few small *quintas* (elite houses) in the pueblos. Nonlocal glazed ceramics and metal were not common on any of the peasant

house lots, although substantially more were found at the pueblos than at the ranchos, or, rather surprisingly, at the peasants' quarters on the haciendas.¹⁹² The researcher views the peasants' behavior as a voluntary opting out of the colonial world system, almost as a form of resistance to colonialism. In Roman North Africa, we could imagine something similar. The villas and large farms could be understood as the Roman equivalent of the haciendas—estates with the dual function of producing exports for the market and affirming the elite status of their owners. The majority of the rural population lived in *castella* or *casulae*, raising their own food, building their own huts, and dining on domestically produced pottery or wood rather than fineware. They may have worked the landowners' land—whether as sharecroppers or seasonal labor—but participated very little in the market economy, at least as consumers.

What perhaps has not been sufficiently recognized is the extent to which Roman (and perhaps also Mexican) landlords wanted it this way. The nonconsumption of the rustic was not a failure of Roman imperialism—much less a resistance to Romanization—but an essential part of the construction of power relations at the local level. In the Roman agronomists, there was a clear reluctance to let their farmworkers spend their time at the urban markets. According to Columella, the *vilicus* “should not frequent any town or any *nundinae* except for the sale or purchase of something *necessary*.”¹⁹³ These authors were of course thinking of the slave-worked farms of Italy, not the tenant-based agriculture of North Africa. Yet we find similar advice generalized to all “rustics” in third-century jurists. According to Callistratus, “If anyone has ordered the actual cultivators of the fields or fishermen to bring provisions into the city to sell them themselves, the food supply will be interrupted since the rustics are called away from their work. They ought, as soon as they have brought their wares in, to hand them over and return to their work.”¹⁹⁴ The market gardener in Apuleius followed this advice. He carried his produce to the nearest *civitas* in the mornings, handed it over to professional traders, and then left without ever buying anything himself (*Met.* 9.32).

In Greco-Roman literature, even independent small farmers were expected to practice the virtue of nonconsumption. In the Pseudo-Virgilian *Moretum*, the “rustic cultivator of a tiny field” lived in a small *casula*. He sold fresh vegetables from his cottage garden to his richer neighbors but was too frugal to consume any of them himself. Every ninth day he would carry a load of wood to town: “From there he would return home, light of neck, but heavy in bronze, and *scarcely ever accompanied by any goods from the urban market*.”¹⁹⁵ In a similar episode in Virgil's *Georgics*, a driver loads his donkey with oil and fruit to sell in town and brings back a rough millstone and lumps of pitch. Here the rustic is indeed a consumer of goods from town, but only of the most utilitarian, “necessary” sort.¹⁹⁶ In a Greek text (*Vita Aesopi*) from early Roman Egypt, a peasant drives his donkey to an urban market to sell

wood and explains his plans to buy very little in return: “I will go and dispose of this wood for twelve *asses*; you will get two for fodder, I shall get two for my own [fodder], and we will keep eight for future bad times.”¹⁹⁷ The ideal expressed in these texts is not that of the subsistence farmer; the authors approved of peasants *selling* their produce at urban markets. Peasants were to sell, but not to buy (or to buy only what was absolutely necessary); to produce, but not to consume; to save their money in order to survive times of crisis, not in order to improve their social position.

The logical result of this ideology was a contrast in the material culture of the elite and the rustics. The *urbani* purchased commodities from the market, while the rustics made do with what they could produce themselves. In Roman literature and mosaics, rustics lived in brushwood *casulae*; the propertied lived in stone *domus* or villas with tiled roofs. Rustics wore short girded tunics of undyed wool; the *urbani* wore tailored, brightly colored tunics, cloaks, and togas.¹⁹⁸ Civilized men visited public bathhouses and anointed themselves with perfumed oil. Rustics did not bathe at all.¹⁹⁹ These are stereotypes, of course—but stereotypes that in a conquered province had the potential for guiding behavior.

Such dichotomies were imported into North Africa, as shown by authors such as Apuleius as well as in the numerous “rural scenes” in second- and third-century African mosaics. These show rustics wearing short, undyed tunics and inhabiting brushwood huts.²⁰⁰ Such representations of rustics should not be considered reflections of reality as much as shapers of reality, the lens through which the landlords of the region began to view the rural populations. The structures on the ground may not have changed very much at first. Just as Punic Baal could be syncretized with Roman Saturn, and peristyle courtyards could be referred to as *atria*, Punic *magaria* could become *casae* (the category under which Isidore of Seville lists them).²⁰¹ The humble and the poor could be hybridized just as effectively as the rich. The difference was that their translation was not of their own choosing. Instead of togas, bathhouses, and glossy red fineware, the Roman order brought them bare feet, rush huts, goatskins, and coarse wool. And rather than seeing their poverty as a backward indigenism or a stubborn refusal to adopt the manners of their conquerors, their masters viewed it as something desirable—as a commendable frugality, the natural order of things.

The methods through which this inequality was maintained would not be hard to achieve, once it was conceived as desirable. Tax collection during the second and early third centuries was almost wholly in the hands of the local decurions. Municipalities regulated where workshops could be built, managed the water, fuel, and mineral resources needed for production, and sometimes actually forbade the establishment of large-scale workshops on private property out of a desire to promote their own “public” workshops.²⁰² Municipalities also controlled the distribution of commodities by monopolizing the permanent marketplaces and inhibiting the opening of rural

markets in their vicinity.²⁰³ It would have been easy enough to use these means to prevent commodities from getting into the wrong hands.

But it is unlikely that formal barriers to rural consumption would have been necessary. A *colonus* who put roof tiles on his mud-brick hut or showed up at a public bathhouse carrying his own oil and towel would be asking for the same sort of response as an “uppity” African-American in the mid-twentieth-century South. If not driven out of the village by the ridicule of his peers, he might find himself set upon by the hunting dogs of a neighboring landlord. Those whom the rustics had to fear most were not the Roman officials or senators, but those Punic-speaking masters, not so long ago conquered themselves, who were jealous of their small claims to distinction.

GROWTH" IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS

The most important evidence for the greater availability of commodities comes from recent archaeological surveys. Surveys show what is usually interpreted as “settlement growth” in Tunisia (the provinces of Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena) and eastern Algeria (Numidia) during the fourth and fifth centuries. In the Carthage Survey (fig. 5), the number of sites with at least one sherd of datable pottery rose from a late third-century slump of two sites to eleven sites in the first half of the fourth century, and then twenty-one in the second half. The fifth century remained stagnant (at eighteen and then sixteen sites), perhaps because of the Vandal conquest. Nevertheless, the late Vandal period—the first half of the sixth century—constituted the historic peak of datable settlement (forty-four sites). The number began to drop after 550 C.E. (to twenty-six sites), although dramatically only in the seventh century (eight sites).¹

A similar chronology of late Roman settlement has been found in a more intensive survey of the territory of the small *municipium* Segermes, about sixty-five kilometers from Carthage.² As shown in figure 6, from ca. 50 to 200 C.E., there was a gentle rise in the number of datable sites, from thirteen (50–100 C.E.) to twelve (100–150 C.E.) to eighteen (150–200 C.E.). A sharp increase (to thirty-two sites) occurs during the first half of the third century. This is followed by a slight decline (to twenty-six sites) during the third-century crisis. The real take-off occurs in the fourth century. The number of sites rises from thirty-four (300–350 C.E.) to fifty-six (350–400), plateaus in the fifth century (fifty-nine and fifty-eight), and reaches an apogee in the first half of the sixth century (a remarkable eighty-three sites). In the second half of the sixth century, there is a 50 percent decline (to forty-one sites), and by the second half of the seventh century, it is difficult to find any evidence of occupation at all (three sites).

In inland Tunisia, late antique growth begins a little earlier (by 300 C.E.) and ends by 500 C.E. In the region of Bulla Regia, occupation peaked during the fourth and fifth centuries.³ The same is true for the recently published Thugga Survey (fig. 7). The number of datable sites rose from 54 in the high imperial period (100–300 C.E.) to a historic peak of 132 in the late imperial period (300–430/50 C.E.). Under the Vandal rule (430/50–530 C.E.), the number dropped sharply (from 132 to 65), in contrast to the Segermes or Carthage region (although new research on the Thugga ceramics might be changing this). The Byzantine period witnessed a slight recovery (to seventy-one datable sites), which was confined to the sixth century. Only seven sites were dated to the seventh century.⁴

For the high, semiarid steppe of central Tunisia, where the cities of Sufetula and Cillium were located, the fourth and fifth centuries were the

height of datable settlement. In the hinterland of the *municipium* Cillium near Sufetula, fineware was appearing at indigenous mountain villages and small farms in addition to the large farms by the fourth century. The number of datable sites peaked between the fourth and early sixth centuries C.E. and was in decline by the middle of the sixth.⁵ In the Sufetula Survey (fig. 8), the number of “occupied” sites more than doubles (from eight to eighteen) between the second and third centuries C.E. and almost doubles again (from eighteen to thirty-three) between the third and fourth centuries. The apogee (forty datable sites) is reached in the fifth century C.E. Sharp decline (six sites) had set in by the beginning of the sixth century.⁶

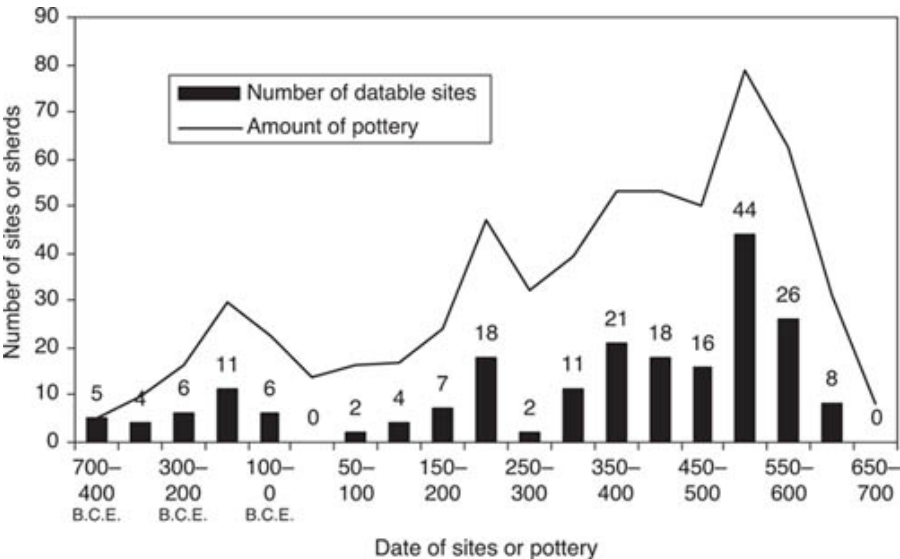


FIGURE 5. Carthage Survey. (Data from Greene [1986], 308–26, with the revised pottery dating of Lund [1995].)

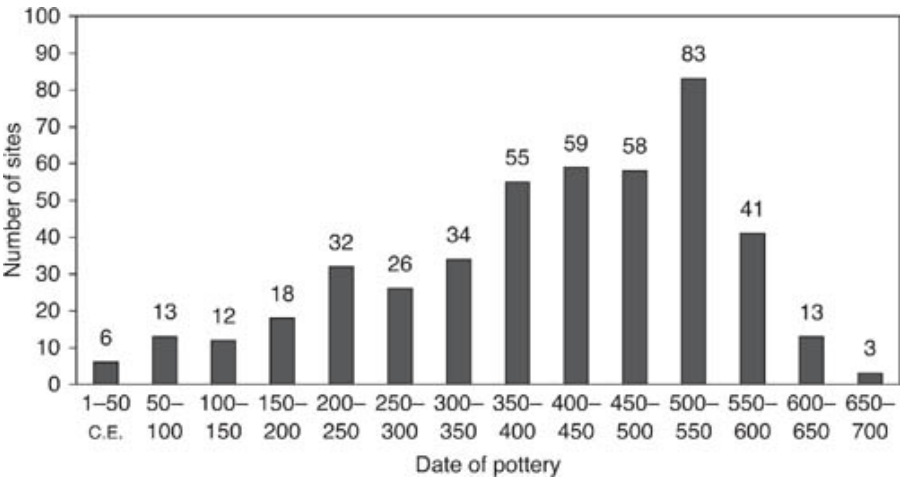


FIGURE 6. Segermes Survey. (Data from Dietz [1995], 780–88, and Briese and Lund [2000].)

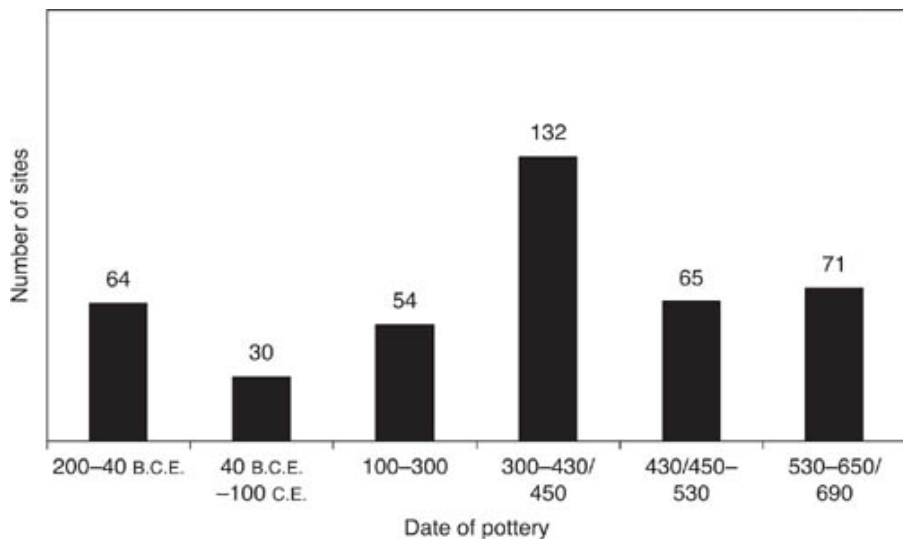


FIGURE 7. Thugga Survey. (Data from De Vos [2000].)

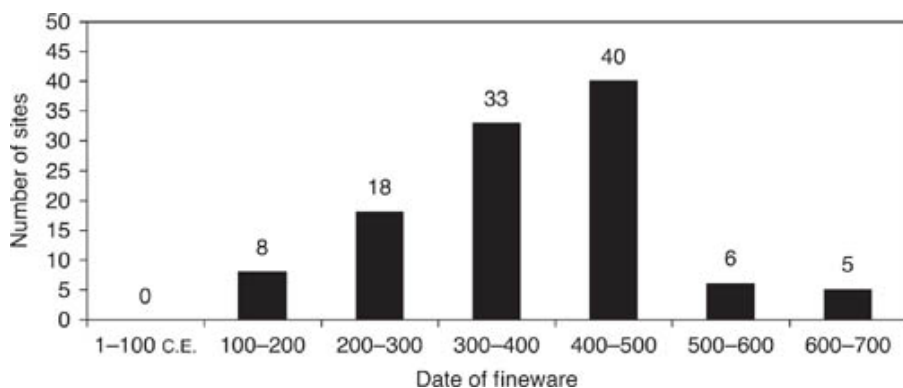


FIGURE 8. Sufetula Survey. (Data from Hitchner [1982].)

Outside of Tunisia, current politics or imprecise ceramic typologies have prevented archaeologists from forming as clear a picture of site chronology. Nevertheless, sufficient evidence exists to suggest that rural Numidia enjoyed unprecedented prosperity in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. Elizabeth Fentress's survey of the Belezma region, which the Algerian civil war interrupted, discovered forty-five sites that might be considered "Roman." These range from olive factories near the colony Diana Veteranorum and courtyard farms in the wadi valleys to distinctive "spread-out" villages in the northern plains and terraced villages at the base of the mountains.⁷ None of these sites had pottery predating the fourth century C.E., and several villages had pottery only from the fifth century. The survey team believed, with reason, that these results underrepresented the early imperial settlement in the region. Nevertheless, the survey confirms the conclusion reached by other archaeologists that the fineware found at Numidian rural sites was mostly late

Roman. As André Berthier put it, there was so much ARS D north of the Aurès Mountains that “the soil was red from the number of sherds.”⁸

In contrast to these core provinces in Tunisia and eastern Algeria, the western and eastern provinces of North Africa (the Mauretaniae and Tripolitania) appear to have experienced a decline—or at least a nucleation—in datable settlement after the third century C.E. Decline is most clearly visible for the basin of the Sebou near Volubilis in Mauretania Tingitana. The survey team found 299 sites, the majority dispersed farms of Roman date.⁹ Site density peaked in the second or early third century C.E. After the late third century, rural settlement became completely undatable. Cities such as Volubilis still obtained imported pottery, but their rural hinterlands pass into an era of archaeological silence. This can be explained by the withdrawal of Roman troops from southern Tingitana in 285 C.E. In this remote area, the distribution of Romanized pottery was not able to outlast Roman rule.

Nothing so dramatic happened in Mauretania Caesariensis, which, unlike southern Tingitana, remained a Roman province until the end. Yet Philippe Leveau’s survey of the territory of Caesarea Mauretaniae found that the number of sites with ARS declined after the third century: twenty-three sites had ARS D (mainly datable to the late fourth and fifth centuries) compared to thirty-four with ARS A.¹⁰ The decline was, however, uneven: the villages and fortified farms fared better than the open farms (*villas*).¹¹ In fact, the only excavated rural site of the area, the fortified large farm of Nador, was rebuilt in the fourth century and housed a prosperous peasant community during the Vandal period.¹²

For Tripolitania, recent surveys point to settlement nucleation—or in some areas, settlement continuity—rather than decline in the fourth and fifth centuries. On the island of Jerba, the overall number of sites decreased in this period due to the abandonment of dispersed farms, but this was to some extent made up for by the appearance of new villages. The overall quantity of fineware at rural sites actually increased.¹³ In an Italian survey in the immediate territory of Lepcis Magna, twenty-two sites were dated to the first through early third century, and a similar number (nineteen) to the late third to fifth century. As at Jerba, the quantity of fineware increased during the late Roman period. Settlement in both of these areas was, however, in retreat by the early sixth century, especially near Lepcis Magna.¹⁴

The coastal zone of Syrtica appears to have fared worse than any other part of Tripolitania in the fourth and fifth centuries. Although pottery was not systematically collected, the impression of the Franco-Libyan survey team was that there was very little late Roman ARS (ARS D) in the survey area. Only the coastal villages (nos. 41, 47, 53) had any at all. The numerous open (i.e., unfortified) farms of the wadi valleys seem to have been abandoned after the third century C.E. There are problems with this data, however, because the team did not take into account Tripolitanian Red Slip ware, a *sigillata* manufactured in the region of Lepcis Magna, which supplanted ARS in much

of Tripolitania during the fourth century.¹⁵

The Libyan Valleys Survey of the interior predesert *did* report the Tripolitanian Red Slip, and as a result, we have a much better idea of the late Roman settlement in this part of Tripolitania. As summarized in [figure 9](#), the peak in the number of datable sites occurred in the third and fourth centuries C.E.¹⁶ However, if ARS alone had been considered (as in the Syrtica Survey), the survey team would have found a steady decline of datable settlement after the second century, with virtually no ARS occurring by the fifth (see the dashed line in [figure 9](#)).

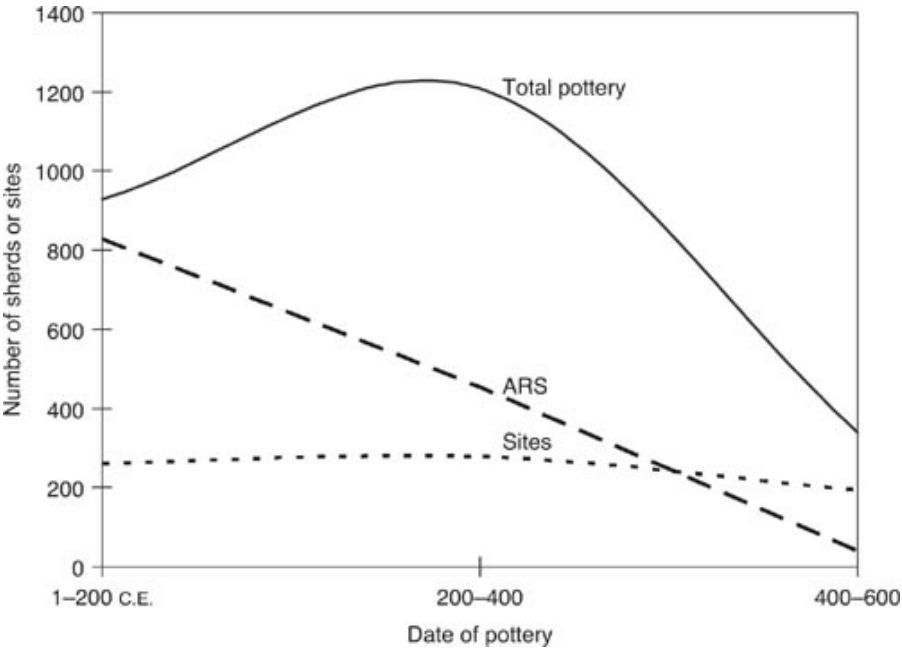


FIGURE 9. Libyan Valleys Survey. (Data from Mattingly and Flower [1996] and Dore [1996].)

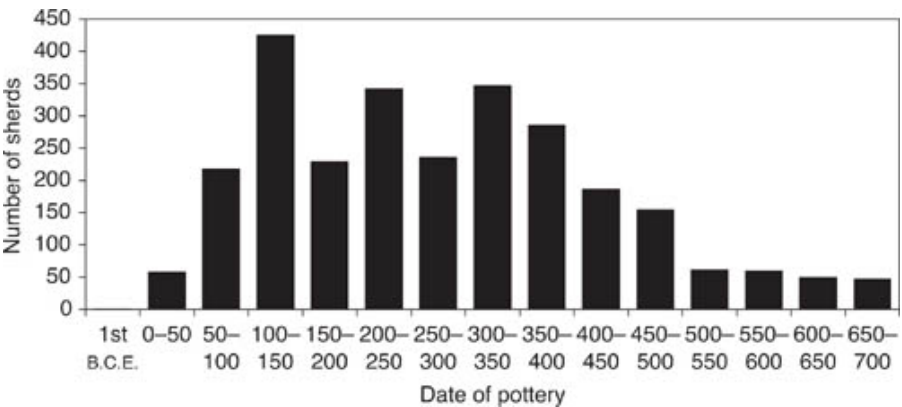


FIGURE 10. Pottery in the Libyan Valleys Survey. (Data from Dore [1996].)

The catalog of the pottery from the Libyan Valleys Survey allows a more

nuanced chronology to be formed (fig. 10).¹⁷ Large amounts of ARS began to be distributed unusually quickly in the region—in fact, the first half of the second century was the historic peak of fineware, even though the total number of “occupied” sites was later surpassed. After the first half of the second century, the pattern resembles what we have seen elsewhere—a second, less sharp rise in fineware during the Severan period (the first half of the third century), a decline in the second half of the third century, and a recovery (by this point, largely in the form of Tripolitanian Red Slip) in the fourth. Beginning in the fifth century, the amount of datable pottery sharply declines, although not disastrously until the sixth century C.E. The pottery distribution differs from that of Tunisia both in the precocious abundance of ARS in the early second century and in the decline in datable pottery (and therefore of settlement) already in the fifth.

In Tripolitania, as in the territory of Caesarea Mauretaniae, certain types of sites—fortified farms and villages—fared better in the fourth and fifth centuries than the open farms of the imperial period. In the Libyan Valleys Survey, small defensible towers (*gsur*) with associated agrarian hamlets accounted for most of the fineware after the late fourth century. Because of their large average size, the total area with evidence of occupation did not decline as significantly as the total number of sites.

To sum up the survey evidence, according to the current state of our knowledge (and there are serious difficulties in dating settlement in Mauretania and Tripolitania because of incomplete ceramic typologies),¹⁸ the number of datable sites peaked in the core provinces of North Africa (Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, and Numidia) during the fourth to sixth century—specifically between 350 and 550 in northern Tunisia and between 300 and 500 in the rest of Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, and Numidia. In the Tripolitanian pre-desert, the peak in the number of sites occurred somewhat earlier—in the third and fourth centuries, with a trend toward settlement nucleation in late antiquity. The chronology in Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana more closely resembles what scholars have discovered in much of Europe: a peak in the second and early third centuries, making the fourth and fifth centuries an era of decline.

Interpreting Settlement Growth: The Rise of the Rustic Consumer

So what do these surveys really mean? As discussed in [chapter 2](#), most of the survey teams considered the presence of datable pottery as evidence of occupation, and its absence an indication of no occupation. When the number of datable sites increased, population was presumed to have been rising and new land brought under cultivation.¹⁹ An alternative interpretation would be that the data primarily reflect an increase in the availability of the commodities used to locate and date settlement—fineware, amphoras, cut stone, and so on—to populations that had been previously excluded from their

consumption.

In late Roman Tunisia, as in Greece, there is a striking increase in the numbers of small farms with fineware. In the Segermes region, small and medium farms less than 1,000 square meters now rivaled the large farms and villages in number, constituting 48 percent of the total, compared with 24 percent during the high empire. The change at the bottom of the settlement hierarchy is clearest. While in the second and early third centuries, there was no site less than 500 square meters in area, by the early sixth century, nearly one third of datable sites were this size (see [table 8](#)). A well-preserved example is a narrow rectangular house (64 m²), with late fourth- to early sixth-century fineware, located on a small hilltop some 150 meters away from the village Djebel Zid. The absence of decoration and the presence of a cistern and an olive-press counterweight suggest that this was a small working farm.²⁰ The appearance of farms such as these in the Segermes region does not represent a change in the basic settlement pattern, since the villages and large farms of the high empire continue to show evidence of occupation and show it in increasing quantities. Rather, the people who used to live in archaeologically invisible huts now appear to inhabit small stone houses and eat on ARS platters.

TABLE 8 Size of late Roman sites in the Segermes Survey, 300–550 C.E.

Period (C.E.)	<500 m ²	500– 1000 m ²	1,000– 5,000 m ²	5,000– 10,000 m ²	1 ha+	Total sites/ period
300–350	2	4	7	1	6	20
350–400	7	6	11	2	7	33
400–450	8	6	12	2	7	35
450–500	6	7	14	2	8	37
500–550	14	9	19	2	8	52
Total sites/area	17 (30%)	10 (18%)	19 (33%)	2 (4%)	9 (16%)	57

SOURCE: Dietz (1995), 777 (“first-use diagram”), for the chronology; Hansen (1995) for the size of sites.

Rural settlement in Byzacena followed a similar pattern. In the territory of Sufetula, six of the eleven “new” sites of the late empire were “simple olive farms” (whose size was unfortunately not published but was presumably smaller than the *villas*). It is important to emphasize that *all* the sites in the Sufetula Survey, even those for which an early imperial origin has been proposed, obtained significant amounts of fineware only in the fourth century.²¹ This was not a case of the small farms growing at the expense of the villages and villas.

In the nearby Cillium (present-day Kasserine) Survey, Bruce Hitchner characterized the new sites of late empire as “smaller settlements (farm-houses, villages, and possibly smaller structures).”²² In some sectors, small farms with late Roman fineware were found along the wadi banks in the same

areas as the large farms (whose *coloni* they may have been).²³ However, in the case of the mountainous Djebel Selloum, fineware was now appearing in an area that had appeared completely “unoccupied” during the early imperial period. Small courtyard farms in the Djebel Selloum region become datable only in the fourth century.²⁴ Hitchner has postulated a possible immigration of Libyan tribes to this region. I would suggest that many, if not most, of these sites do not represent “new” settlement so much as better access to datable fineware by previously excluded populations.

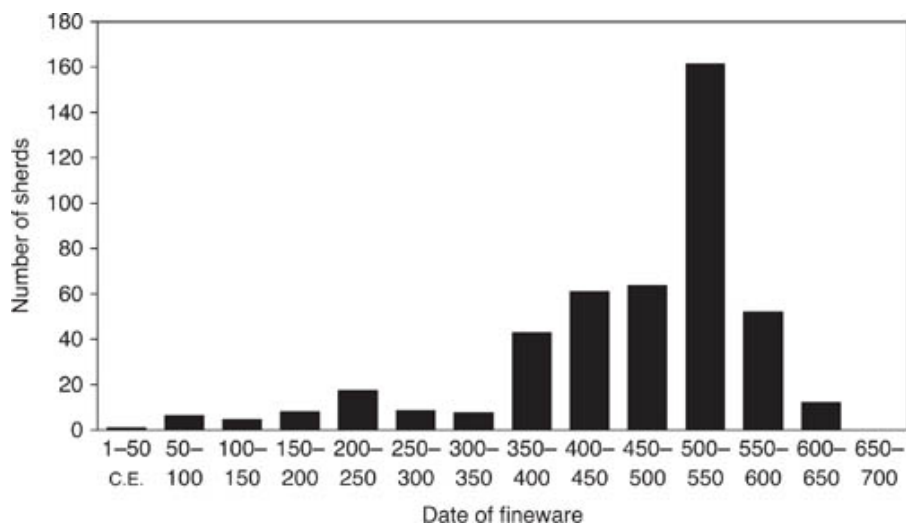


FIGURE 11. Fineware at villages in the Segermes Survey. (Data from Lund [1995] for sites N-5, K-15, O-14, and Q-12.)

At the same time as these small farms were becoming datable for the first time, there was an explosion of fineware in the villages of Tunisia and Algeria. At the Castellum Tiddis in Numidia, 244 lamps (the only quantified ceramic) were dated to the fourth or fifth century C.E., as compared to only 72 from the second or third century.²⁵ Villages in the territory of the colony Uthina in northern Tunisia show a peak of Roman fineware in the fifth century C.E.²⁶ In the Segermes region, the four villages whose ceramic has been published acquired far more fineware between 350 and 550 C.E. than in any previous period (see [fig. 11](#)). For example, at the large (10 ha) village N-5, located on the mountainous edge of Segermes’s territory, there was thirteen times more fineware after 350 C.E. than before, even though the site appears to have been occupied since the mid-second century. The second half of the fourth century was the turning point for these villages.

These patterns in part correspond to a general increase of fineware, which benefited settlements of all categories. Both large farms and villages acquired more fineware in the late Roman period than they had in the early (compare the fourth columns of [tables 9](#) and [10](#)). Yet the increase in fineware did not occur at the same rate for both categories of settlement; the villages were

growing faster. The large farms still accumulated fineware out of proportion to their size, but their sherds to area ratio was now on the same order of magnitude as the villages' (0.56 to 0.25 sherds per 100 m², instead of the 0.16 to 0.03 of the first to third century).²⁷

The villages were getting better *relative* access to ceramic even in regions where the total amount of ceramic (or at least of fineware) was decreasing. In the territory of Caesarea Mauretaniae, the large farms decline from having thirty-two times more fineware than villages (in proportion to their area) in the first through third century to having only seven times more fineware in the fourth and fifth (compare the fourth columns in [tables 11](#) and [12](#)). Because ceramic was not systematically collected in the Caesarea Survey, these numbers have even less validity than usual. Nevertheless, the overall pattern of a narrowing gap between the large farms and villages appears to be sound.

TABLE 9 Fineware distribution in the Segermes Survey, 1–300 C.E.

	Sites with fineware	Sherds	Area (m ²)	Ratio (sherds/100 m ²)
Large farms	8	30	19,123	0.16
Villages	4	55	160,000	0.03

TABLE 10 Fineware distribution in the Segermes Survey, 300–650 C.E.

	Sites with fineware	Sherds	Area (m ²)	Ratio (sherds/100 m ²)
Large farms	15	125	22,466	0.56
Villages	4	402	160,000	0.25

Fineware also became more prevalent in the hamlets associated with estates, as demonstrated by the Libyan Valleys Survey. As discussed in [chapter 2](#), the peasants of the early empire appear to have lived in clusters of drystone huts located near, but not next to, the large *opus africanum* farms. The large farms were much better at accumulating imperial fineware than these hut settlements, which usually had no fineware at all. This settlement pattern changed in the late third and fourth centuries. Well-constructed stone towers, known as *gsur* (singular *gasr*), replaced the large, unfortified farms. The *gsur* were the direct successors of the large *opus africanum* farms, even down to possessing the same estate boundaries and irrigation works.²⁸ Yet in addition to their fortified character, the *gsur* differed in an essential way from the large farms: they were often surrounded by compounds or (in the survey's terminology) “settlements” of small, drystone dwellings. This nucleation of

settlement around the landlords’ towers has been regarded as either a defensive measure or a late Roman parallel to medieval *incastellamento*.²⁹ Whether the motivation behind the settlement change was to better defend or better control the agricultural population, a side effect appears to have been to diffuse fineware among them: the attached hut compounds account for most of the late Roman fineware in the survey.

TABLE 11 Fineware distribution in the Caesarea Survey, 1–300 C.E.

	Sites with fineware	Sherds	Area (m ²)	Ratio (sherds/ 100 m ²)
Large farms	23	609	32,560	1.9
Villages	13	178	219,000	0.06

TABLE 12 Fineware distribution in the Caesarea Survey, 300–600 C.E.

	Sites with fineware	Sherds	Area (m ²)	Ratio (sherds/ 100 m ²)
Large farms	16	85	23,740	0.36
Villages	11	110	219,000	0.05

SOURCE: Based on data from Leveau (1984), large farms nos. 87, 188, 152, 195, 69, 85, 163, 191, 151, 174, 181, 203, 224, 84, 150, 178; villages nos. 209, 143, 196, 165, 201, 221, 70, 171, 202, 203, 198.

NOTE: For the second two columns, I have included only sites with published ceramic and area, which were all of the farms, but only seven of the thirteen villages.

TABLE 13 Fineware distribution in the Libyan Valleys Survey, 50–600 C.E.

	Sites (no. with ceramic/total)	Early fineware	Late ARS	TRS	Coarseware	Total sherds	Sherds per site
Isolated settlements	6/31	29	4	5	24	62	2
<i>Gsur</i> settlements	27/32	55	42	215	102	414	12.9
Isolated <i>gsur</i>	8/15	2	4	12	4	22	1.5

To follow these developments more closely, [table 13](#) compares the ceramic at isolated settlements, *gsur*-associated settlements, and *gsur* without associated settlement in six wadi areas.³⁰ The isolated settlements (which include both clusters of huts and hilltop villages) and the *gsur* settlements clearly had different chronological ranges: 76 percent of the isolated

settlements' fineware is late first to early third century, while 69 percent of the fineware at the *gsur* settlements dates to the late third century or after. The survey team's interpretation of this pattern is that the laboring population moved from the isolated settlements to the *gsur* settlements in the course of the fourth century.³¹ The *gsur* settlements have 6.5 times more fineware than the isolated settlements, even though the two types of sites tend to be the same size. This suggests that, as in other parts of North Africa, agrarian agglomerations were gaining better access to fineware under the late empire. Furthermore, the *gsur* without associated hamlets have little fineware, making it unlikely that the owners of the *gsur* were the ones responsible for the accumulation of fineware. It was the inhabitants of these small, drystone, haphazardly arranged dwellings who were dining on fineware by the fourth century, under the shadow of their landlord's tower. The distribution of fineware had come closer to reflecting the distribution of population than that of merely power and wealth.

Changes in Supply: The Emergence of Rural Pottery Workshops

The most direct explanation for the more widespread distribution of fineware under the late empire is that the supply had changed. By the fourth century C.E., local kilns were manufacturing fineware in areas that previously had needed to import *sigillata* from hundreds of kilometers away. Regional fineware industries began in central and southern Tunisia during the third century C.E., perhaps encouraged by the disruption of trade during the third-century crisis. By the fourth century, Red Slip was being produced in Numidia and Tripolitania as well.³² These "industries" consisted of hundreds of small workshops in the towns, villages, and estates, distributing to a local, not Mediterranean, market.³³ The end result was that rustics could now obtain fineware from local artisans rather than from northern Tunisia or Italy.

The evidence has been accumulating to link production at specific kilns to the actual pottery found in the rural surveys. The Segermes region may have obtained much of its late antique fineware from the kilns of a neighboring town, Pheradi Maius.³⁴ The remains of two pottery kilns have also been found within Segermes's own territory in the vicinity of the large village Djebel Zid (B 11–6).³⁵ The fineware found by the Belezma Survey in southwestern Numidia was mostly of local production.³⁶ The Numidian village whose production is best understood is the large Castellum Tiddis in Numidia. The potters at Tiddis were making stamped ARS plates and decorated lamps in the fourth century, as well as enormous numbers of coarseware jugs, casseroles, and mortars.³⁷ The fact that the *castellum* had acquired market rights in the third century might have given an impetus to this production.

The appearance of these rural pottery workshops coincides with the increase in datable settlement (see [fig. 12](#)). A project of the Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art in Tunis and the Tunisian Committee of the British

Academy has identified twenty-nine pottery kilns in coastal and central Byzacena (Sullectum to Leptiminus and the triangle of Sufetula, Mactar, and Kairouan), an area overlapping the survey areas of Sufetula and Cillium.³⁸ The production history of the coastal kilns differs in important ways from that of the inland kilns. The coastal kilns, which lay in the immediate outskirts of port cities like Leptiminus and Sullectum, were already making ceramic by the second century C.E., their main products being amphoras and cooking pots. Production at the twelve inland kilns, which were primarily located in villages or estates, did not begin until the third century and peaked in the fourth and early fifth. Most of these workshops were making ARS tableware and lamps rather than amphoras. The chronology of kiln production in the interior closely mirrors the increase of sites with fineware in the Sufetula and Cillium surveys (see [fig. 12](#)). The number of both kilns and rural sites peaks in the fourth and fifth centuries.

Although much work still remains to be done to trace the diffusion of the specific products of these inland kilns, many of them appear to have distributed only to the immediate vicinity, with a high percentage of local forms, and only a few kilns sent significant quantities to Carthage or overseas.³⁹ For example, the kiln at Ksar el Guellal (an “agrovilla” in the Cillium region) produced local forms of ARS as well as imitations of the forms of the central Tunisian coast (Hayes 58B and 68), which were common throughout the Cillium survey area.⁴⁰ Few lamps or decorated ARS were made there. In contrast, the enormous pottery factory at the “villa” Sidi Marzouk in the territory of Sufetula produced a variety of ARS forms, some paralleled by neighboring kilns, but many unusual for the region.⁴¹ At least part of Sidi Marzouk’s wares were aimed at a distant market: decorated lamps from Sidi Marzouk have been found in fifth-century contexts in Carthage and its appliqué-decorated tableware was exported to Italy.⁴² The kilns at El Mahrine (45 km from Carthage), which have been extensively studied by Michael Mackensen, represent a similar villa production of high-end ARS for a Mediterranean-wide market.⁴³ Although kilns like Sidi Marzouk and El Mahrine are interesting for demonstrating exchange between North African villa factories and the wider Mediterranean, the diffusion of fineware to the North African countryside should not be attributed to kilns such as these. Instead, it was the more humble local workshops (whose artisans may have been trained at the higher-end factories) that were responsible for making fineware available to peasants.⁴⁴

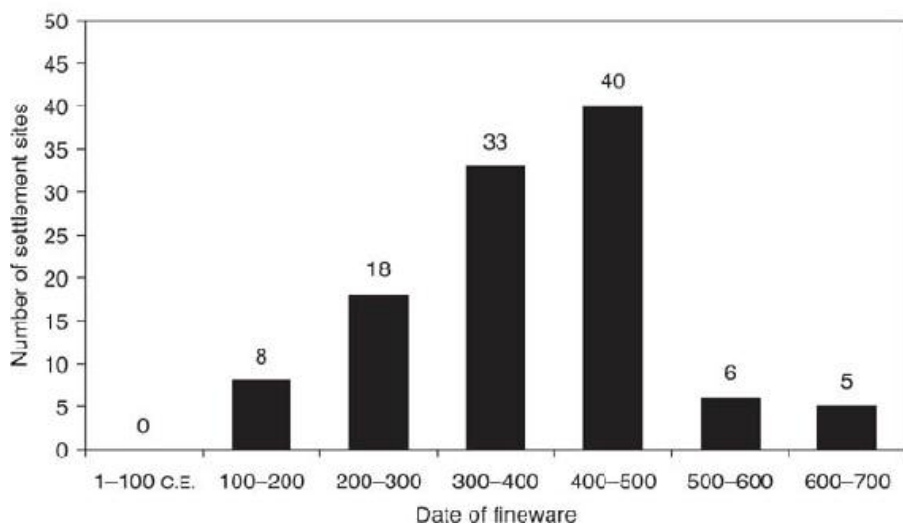
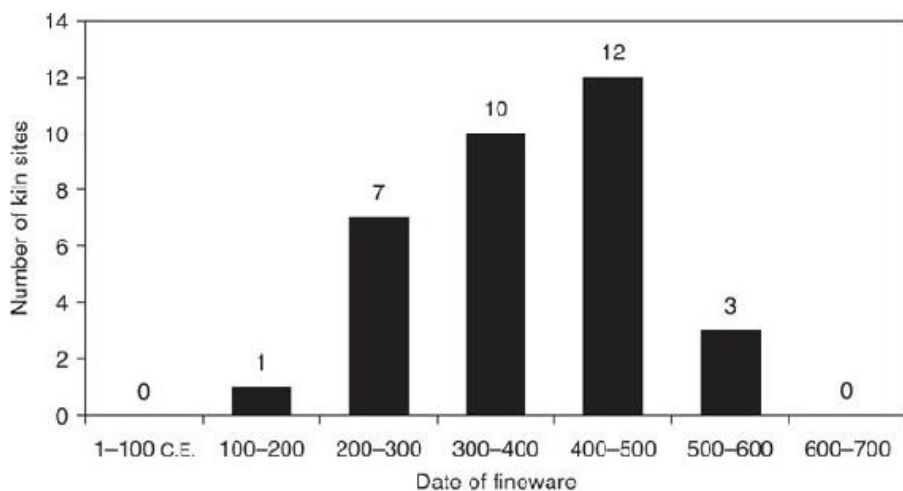


FIGURE 12. Correlation between kiln production and sites with fineware in central Byzacena. (Data from Peacock, Bejaoui, and Ben Lazreg [1989] and [1990] and Hitchner [1982].)

There were similar developments in other provinces of the late Roman Empire. In Britain, a number of regional fineware industries began in the mid-third century C.E. As in Africa, the location of pottery kilns in the region shifted from the immediate vicinity of the towns to peripheral rural areas.⁴⁵ Not surprisingly, rural sites in Roman Britain had more datable pottery from the first half of the fourth century C.E. than from any previous period.⁴⁶ In the eastern Mediterranean, Phocaean, Cypriot, Egyptian, and even more local red slips began to be produced in the fourth century, and at least some at rural workshops. It is largely these wares that date the settlement “boom” of the late fourth to sixth century.⁴⁷

Fineware may have appeared at lower-status sites in part because local

kilns had reduced the cost of land transport. Pottery was becoming cheaper to buy. However, the growth of the regional fineware industry itself needs to be explained. If there was a profit to be made from producing fine ceramics in central Numidia, it is hard to explain why North African landlords would not have done so in the second century, unless the level of demand had changed. The emergence of the regional fineware industries may not have been the cause so much as the mechanism for the diffusion of fineware. If this were the case, one would not expect pottery to be the only commodity involved.

DISSEMINATION OF OTHER COMMODITIES IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES C.E.

The abundance of datable pottery at small farms and villages from the fourth to early sixth century appears to indicate an expansion of the kinds of people able to acquire it. Did other commodities also become easier for rural populations to obtain?

Metal and Glass

The diffusion of metal and glass objects cannot be traced as easily as fineware, but there is some evidence that it paralleled ceramic. At the large farm of Nador in the territory of Caesarea Mauretaniae, only 6 of the 115 excavated metal objects dated to the earliest period of occupation (the first to early third century C.E.). These were four nails, one possible spade (no. 273), and one imported bronze *fibula* (no. 257). The rest of the metal objects—which included another bronze *fibula*, bronze belt studs, key holes, a lead weight, numerous iron agricultural tools (hoes, plowshares, a possible *tudicula* for olive-oil processing), and many iron nails—dated to the fourth or fifth century C.E.⁴⁸ At the late antique farm of Aïn Wassel (in the territory of Thugga), excavators found a hoe, a bronze bed foot, the stem of a candelabra, a torch holder, a ring, and a *fibula*.⁴⁹ They have not yet found the earlier Roman farm to compare, although epigraphic evidence suggests that it existed.

As with the pottery, metal objects may have become more available because they were now being produced on the estates and in the villages. In the survey of the rural territory of Sufetula, ten workshops for iron smelting were found, most of them at olive farms near the mountains where the iron was mined. Only two of these smelting sites date from the high empire; the rest were late Roman or undated.⁵⁰ Their products were probably intended for a very local market; as Bruce Hitchner put it, “They are likely to have produced tools, farm implements, and building materials for the immediate use at the site or, in some instances, for sale in Sufetula itself.”⁵¹ A shift to small-scale, estate-based iron production and manufacturing has also been

attested in late Roman Britain, Gaul, and Spain.⁵²

As for glass, it rarely is found in archaeological survey, and so its prevalence is difficult to judge. Excavations have suggested an increase in the production and use of glass vessels in the late Roman period. In trial excavations of farms and villages in the Segermes region, the early imperial levels rarely had any glass, while late imperial levels almost always did.⁵³ At Ghirza, an important village in the Tripolitanian predesert, all the glass finds (most of them bowls and stemmed cups) were dated to the fourth or fifth century C.E., even though the pottery and coins went back to the early empire.⁵⁴ At Nador, only 6 of the 194 glass fragments date to the first through third century C.E.; the bulk comes from the late Roman occupation of the site. The early examples tended to be colorful luxury products like “mosaic glass,” probably imported from the eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁵ The late glass is, in contrast, quite utilitarian, the most common vessel (seventy-four fragments) being a medium-sized bowl (“cup”) of cheap greenish fabric, a form common in the western Mediterranean during the fourth and fifth centuries.⁵⁶ The implication is that glass had gone from being a luxury to an item of daily use on rural sites.

These glass objects, like pottery and metal, were probably produced at local workshops close to the rural sites where they were found. A glass kiln was discovered at the small villa D 10–1 within the Segermes region. The survey team believes that production began around 300 C.E.⁵⁷ Only further archaeological work will tell us how common such estate glass kilns were in late antiquity.⁵⁸

Domestic Architecture

Domestic architecture is a more complex sort of “commodity” than pottery, metal, or glass, consisting both of the construction materials that physically make up a dwelling and the knowledge that goes into its design. The study of nonelite domestic architecture in the Roman provinces is still in its infancy.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, there are signs in both the archaeology and the textual sources that the *casulae* described by imperial authors like Apuleius began to give way to more sophisticated structures in the fourth century, which required the purchase of building materials from local craftsmen and some degree of architectural expertise to build.

In the textual sources, the ephemeral peasant huts that educated North Africans like Apuleius considered natural and even quaint had become by the fourth century an embarrassment to all involved. It was now an insult to say that someone lived in a *casa* or *casula*. When defending the Christians for abandoning the gods of their fathers, a rhetor of Sicca Veneria pointed out that they may as well blame people for choosing to wear cloth instead of animal skins like their ancestors, or preferring to live in houses (*domus*) rather than the old *casulae*, only a step away from the dens of beasts.⁶⁰ Most North

African authors stopped using the words *casa* / *casula* altogether (Augustine only uses *casula* in the sense of cape), except when having to explain why their Latin translation of the Bible placed some of its most venerable figures in them.⁶¹

The majority of late Roman texts that mention rural dwellings employ the generic “house” (*domus*) instead of *casa* / *casula*. Augustine consistently used *domus* for the dwellings of the rural population.⁶² Victor of Vita described rustics collapsing on the thresholds of their *domus* during a famine in the 480s. In the Donatist *Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda*, a twelve-year-old girl on the large estate of Cephalitana near Thuburbo inhabited a *domus* with a balcony.⁶³ In the only extant collection of documents from a North African estate—the Albertini Tablets of the 490s C.E.—a *colonus* sold property at a place called “Domus Veteres” within the estate, suggesting that the small hamlets on *fundi* were now called *domus* instead of *casae*.⁶⁴

And there are some signs that these rustic homes had changed in their form as well as their designation. Part of what had always distinguished a *villa* from an ordinary farm was its tiled roof. The North African mosaics paid special attention to the roofs when portraying villas, using individual red *tesserae* to represent the roof tiles, in contrast to the thatch or flat planks of more humble dwellings.⁶⁵ According to Isidore, a *casa* (in which category he included the North African *magaria*) was a “rustic habitation constructed from wooden planks and brushy thatch.”⁶⁶ Cassiodorus, writing in southern Italy in the mid-sixth century, similarly derived the etymology of “hut” (*tabernaculum*) from “plank” (*trabs*), because the homes of the poor used to be roofed “with planks, not yet tiles.” Yet Cassiodorus’s “not yet” was significant: by the late empire, things may have been changing.⁶⁷

Descriptions of peasant dwellings in late antiquity often imply a fair degree of architectural complexity, both in roofing and general form. In the early fifth century, a “pauper” near the Castellum Fussala in Proconsular Numidia had a tiled roof for his *villula*, which we know about because the bishop of Fussala stole the tiles after purchasing a half share in the farm.⁶⁸ At a house (*domus*) on the estate or in the village Membliba in Numidia, a young woman climbed up to the terrace (*solarium*) where a visiting deacon was sleeping apart from the rest of the residents. After leaving the house, they held a conversation under the eaves of the roof.⁶⁹ At the estate of Cephalitana in the *Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda*, Secunda leapt out of the high balcony (*maenianum*) of her *domus* in order to face martyrdom.⁷⁰ Although hardly luxurious, the architectural form of these dwellings, with their balconies, terraces, and roof tiles, was a far cry from the huts of long ago.

In the absence of any published excavations of ordinary rural habitations, we must rely on archaeological surveys to test these impressions drawn from the textual sources. This poses obvious problems in dating, especially when a site was in continuous occupation from the early imperial period to the late. At best, we can point to certain architectural types that are associated with late

Roman pottery but not early.

Many, if not most, of the farms with late Roman pottery resemble their imperial predecessors. The most common type remained the *opus africanum* courtyard farm—a series of rooms arranged along the edges of a rectangular enclosure, with significantly more open than roofed space. H 17–2 of the Segermes Survey is a good example of a small version of this farm type. It was located on a slope overlooking a wadi, near a village (H 17–1) whose residents inhabited courtyard farms of a similar plan. Its rectangular enclosure opened toward a separate two-room building. The covered area (164.3 m²) was significantly smaller than the yard (380 m²). All of the buildings were constructed out of clay-packed *opus africanum* without any evidence of roof tiles. The only touch of luxury in the place was a small room in the two-room building, whose floors of cement mixed with crushed terracotta and chalk (*opus signinum*) suggest a possible use as a bathroom. The farm had its own olive press and necropolis (of simple cist graves, with some associated amphoras). Its pottery consists of one sherd of first-century *sigillata* and four sherds of late Roman ARS. H 17–2 gives every impression of being the primary residence of a family of farmers—the place where they kept their animals, farmed the wadi banks, and buried their dead. Similar courtyard farms continued to be occupied in Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, and Numidia during the fourth and fifth centuries, although in Tripolitania and Mauretania Caesariensis there are signs that they were giving way to more nucleated or defensible settlements.⁷¹

A second type of rural habitation that suggests continuity, though of a different sort, is what for lack of a better term we might call the “hut compound.” These have been found in the small mountain villages of the Cillium Survey and the *gsur* hamlets of the Libyan Valleys Survey, both areas associated with the Libyan tribes.⁷² In shape, a hut compound usually consists of two to four tiny rectangular or sub-rectangular rooms opening onto an irregularly shaped enclosure, probably used for stock keeping. A hut compound differs from a courtyard farm in a number of respects. For one, an enclosure wall does not contain the rooms; instead, both are arranged haphazardly to fit available space. There is little attempt to keep the shape of the rooms or the yard rectilinear. The construction material used for these buildings is not *opus africanum*, but rougher clay-packed or “dry” stone, with some cut-stone orthostats to define doorways. Given the absence of roof tiles, the buildings were probably roofed with organic materials like esparto grass, which is still used in North Africa today. Compounds of this type almost always occur in groups. At KS 081 in the Cillium Survey, for example, eight such compounds form a village on a hilltop, with an associated olive press (later turned into a Christian chapel) and central tower. The walls of neighboring compounds abut one another, in contrast to the separation of dwellings in most North African villages. As there does not seem anything particularly “Roman” about these compounds, they probably represent an

indigenous architectural form. What is new in the late Roman period is that their inhabitants were now able to obtain fineware.

In contrast to these “traditional” forms of rural habitation, there are some dwellings in the archaeological surveys—particularly in the Segermes Survey—that may represent a movement toward a more urban style of architecture. Small farms with tiled roofs have been discovered in the regions of Segermes and Caesarea.⁷³ In the Segermes Survey, twenty-eight dwellings were associated with Roman roof tiles (thirty-two dwellings, if “tiles” in general are included). Most of these sites were, as one would expect, villas or large farms, but some were modest farms with tiled roofs, and their fineware (when present at all) was late antique.⁷⁴

These dwellings are noteworthy not just for their roof tiles but for a variety of characteristics that differentiate them from the typical peasant farm. At the small village of Q-12, the plan of one of the houses (no. 6) is fairly clear.⁷⁵ This clay-packed *opus africanum* house was square in shape. Rows of rooms existed on both the north and the south sides, with a probable small court between them. An estimated 220 square meters was roofed and 120 square meters open—a reversal of the pattern of the courtyard farm. A sandstone column was found there, making it possible that the court had a portico. Fragments of roof tile indicate that the building had a tiled roof. The small farm B 17-1 (378 m²) was a similar square-shaped combination of rooms and small uncovered court(s). Off its east wall was an unattached large enclosure where animals could have been kept, suggesting a new separation between the space for humans and the space for animals. Fragments of a sandstone column and capital make it possible that this house also had a portico. These small, inward-facing houses bear a closer resemblance to North African town houses than to the usual courtyard farm. The buildings contained a court, instead of being contained by one, and the court’s purpose was no longer primarily agricultural. This, combined with their tiled roofs, columns, and—in the case of the village Q-12—a neighboring bathhouse, suggests that their residents were mimicking a more urban lifestyle.⁷⁶

The second novel architectural form is of a humbler sort—a long, narrow rectangular “strip-house” without a courtyard, which occurs at several of the late Roman villages and estates in the Segermes Survey.⁷⁷ These small buildings (less than 50 m² in size) usually contain only two or three rooms (arranged end to end), seldom more than 3.5 meters in width.⁷⁸ Their form is similar to the “strip-houses” found in *vici* in Roman Britain, but may be derived from the wings of the courtyard farms, whose dimensions and room arrangement are comparable.⁷⁹ The main difference is that these dwellings have no courtyard, with all of the attendant implications for privacy and ability to contain livestock. They may have been the habitations of farm laborers, an interpretation supported by the presence of clearly higher-status buildings (“main farms”) at several of the sites where they occur.⁸⁰ What is notable about them is what they are made of. Clay-packed *opus africanum* is

the primary construction material, and the frequent presence of roof tiles suggests that these structures, despite their modest size, had tiled roofs. If landlords indeed provided these dwellings for their workers, it is interesting that roof tiles and *opus africanum* walls were now thought suitable for the habitations of rustics. The dwellings at the bottom of the settlement hierarchy were adorned with a kind of building material stolen by bishops and depicted on mosaics, and whose absence had once differentiated a *casa* from a home.

Rural Bathhouses

Consistent with these changes in domestic architecture are signs that bathhouses were reaching rustic consumers in the late Roman period. The main architectural surprise in the Segermes Survey was the large number of rural bathhouses—as many as twenty.⁸¹ Eight of these were associated with large complexes that were probably villas.⁸² Two more belonged to villas associated with hamlets—C 16-1 and Ksar Soudane. Yet two (N 15-1 and T 8-2) were found in the vicinity of medium farms, and four were near small independent villages, all of whose fineware dated primarily to the late fourth century and after.⁸³ The implication of this is that, by the late Roman period, even farmers and villagers were visiting the baths.

Although none of the other surveys have discovered as many bathhouses as this (possibly because of their more arid climatic conditions), the increase in rural bathhouses was not confined to the Segermes region. The only rural bathhouses found in the Sufetula and Cillium surveys were late Roman in date.⁸⁴ W. H. C. Frend, summarizing his excavations of late Roman Numidian villages, noted that one of the few types of communal building was the “rustic bath-building.”⁸⁵ In the most complete inventory of North African baths to date, the rural bathhouses were overwhelmingly late antique. Y. Thébert listed thirteen (datable) baths in villages or on estates. Only one of them may have been built in the first or second century C.E. Three were built during the third century—two on estates and one at a *castellum*. The rest were dated to the fourth or fifth century.⁸⁶ Some of these, such as the grand baths at the villa Sidi Ghrib, were certainly private facilities, intended for the pleasure of the landlord and decorated with mosaics showing the landlord hunting or otherwise enjoying his estate’s pleasure grounds. These may be part of a fourth-century trend toward private bathhouses, attested at urban mansions as well as at villas in North Africa.⁸⁷ However, there were also modest, utilitarian bathhouses located in villages or on farms that do not give the impression of being intended for an elite clientele—for example, the small bathhouse in the Roman village that replaced the Punic Kerkouane.⁸⁸

Even in the case of bathhouses on large estates, it is by no means certain that their use would have been reserved for the landlord. A bathhouse on the third-century Appianus estate in Egypt was leased out to a private operator, who no doubt planned to make a profit by opening it to the public.⁸⁹ Verse

dedications show that some North African landlords expected to sell bathing services to travelers.⁹⁰ And sometimes the intended customers were the peasants themselves. John Chrysostom complained that landlords were building bathhouses (instead of churches) on their estates for the use of their peasants. He goes on to argue that the landlords should not be so concerned with financial profit, which suggests that such estate baths were commercial.⁹¹ A fifth-century abbot in Egypt criticized a landlord who demanded in-kind payment in grain from his peasants “on the occasion of bathing in the baths” (the abbot considered this just an excuse to up the rents; in his opinion, the peasants didn’t really want to bathe).⁹² The rather plain bathhouses at olive-press factories and estate pottery workshops most easily fit into this category of commercial baths for a resident workforce.⁹³ What may have been going on, especially on the more utilitarian farms, was a “rational” recognition that there was a profit to be made from selling bathing facilities to farmers.

There is literary evidence that the initiative to build a bath sometimes came from below. Two poems from the Codex Salmasianus of the *Latin Anthology*, attributed to the same late antique North African author,⁹⁴ describe a “pauper,” Vita, who built himself a bathhouse on his little farm and used its runoff to water a small garden:

Vita, poor in wealth, but skillful with his small piece of turf, established delights with a double function. For he erected new baths in a narrow field, and his garden, green with new growths, smells of eatables. What nature denies, industry confers on the little man: there are hardly rich men who have the good things (this) pauper has.⁹⁵

I will discuss the author’s ambivalent attitude toward this farmer’s efforts below. What is important here is the very idea of an ordinary farmer building a bathhouse. By the late Roman period, it was not only the residents of a *civitas* who were able to cleanse themselves in an “urban fashion”—as the dedicator of one of these rural baths put it.⁹⁶

The Invisible Commodity: Clothing

Rural archaeology in North Africa tells us little about what was probably the most important commodity in antiquity—people’s clothing—but there are suggestions in other sources that the clothing of rustics was becoming more sophisticated in the late Roman period. Our main evidence for rustic clothing is the representation of peasants in North African mosaics, which reflect what landowners wanted to see more than what peasants really wore. Nevertheless, the shift in elite perceptions between the early and late empire is worth a short discussion.

On North African mosaics from the Principate, the fundamental item of (male) working dress was the short girded tunic,⁹⁷ which contrasted with the long draped togas and cloaks of the rich. Short, undyed girded tunics (usually

sleeved) are worn by plowmen, goat and sheep milkers, olive and fruit pickers, and rustic hunters in various mosaics of the second and third centuries.⁹⁸ Often the rustics are portrayed barefoot,⁹⁹ but boots are also a frequent accompaniment, as for the plowmen in the Caesarea Labors of the Fields mosaic and a rustic milling grain on a sarcophagus from Carthage.¹⁰⁰ What is uncommon is the sandal or closed shoe characteristic of urban dress. Cloaks, when present at all, are of a humble kind—a shoulder cape (*alicula*) made of leather or animal skin;¹⁰¹ the similar, hooded *cu-cullus*;¹⁰² and, rarely, a knee-length rectangle of undyed wool (*sagum*), looped below the neck without any sign of jewelry.¹⁰³ North African artists seem to have had slightly different preferences in dress for domestic servants or those who performed obviously “servile” work like bearing amphoras.¹⁰⁴ The common theme is that rustics wore clothing that could have been produced at home—undyed wool or skins, made to fit by girding and tying rather than tailoring, and without sign of brooches or other jewelry.

In the fourth and fifth centuries, rustics are still sometimes represented in the stereotypical short, undyed girded tunic, but a few key mosaics—the Dominus Julius mosaic from Carthage above all—dress them in more respectable garb (see [fig. 3](#)). The artist who produced the Julius mosaic was certainly familiar with the traditional iconography of the rustic: the olive pickers in the background of the top left panel wear the usual short girded tunic, *cucullus*, and knee-high boots. However, a man bearing ducks to the landlord, typically interpreted as a *colonus* bringing his obligatory winter gift (*xenia*) of game, wears clothes that would not have disgraced a city dweller.¹⁰⁵ His tunic is indeed short (unlike the landlord’s), but tailored instead of girded. He wears shoes and garters, not the boots or bare feet of the rustic. His flowing, knee-length cloak has been dyed blue and is attached by a brooch under his neck.

Other North African mosaics of the same period similarly portray rustics wearing brightly colored and decorated garments. In the Vintage Scenes mosaic from Caesarea Mauretaniae, a man picking grapes and a rustic hunter wear dyed short tunics decorated with rondels on the shoulders and hips and *clavi* on the wrist.¹⁰⁶ Katherine Dunbabin comments: “The vintagers are men, dressed in short tunics of bright colours decorated with simple *clavi* and *orbiculi*: not realistic peasants’ costume, but the typical dress worn by most figures on mosaics of this period, no matter what activity they are engaged in.”¹⁰⁷ Although it is not exactly true that all figures dress this way—a strong distinction was still made between landlords and rustics when the two are shown together¹⁰⁸—the point still stands. These rustics were not wearing typical peasant costume, by the standards of the high empire.

Although the mosaics do not show a leveling of social distinctions in dress in late antiquity (if anything the dress of the landlords was becoming more elaborate), the important point is that peasants no longer had to be represented as though they made their own clothes. The clothing worn by the tenants in

the Dominus Julius mosaic would have involved the services of a dyer, a tailor, a cobbler, and a jeweler.¹⁰⁹ And although we may doubt whether peasants in general really dressed this way, it is significant that their landlords thought they might.

Small Change

The last commodity to be considered is money itself. Part of what lay behind the diffusion of material goods to rural populations may have been a growing monetization of the countryside. Such has been argued for Roman Britain, where there was a proliferation of bronze coins at rural sites during the late third and fourth centuries.¹¹⁰ The use of money by rural populations may have increased in the Roman Empire overall in this period, possibly because of a shift toward wage labor.¹¹¹

Some North African evidence to support this comes from one of the few excavated villages in North Africa, the Castellum Tiddis in Algeria. Tiddis enjoyed a strategic location on a naturally defensible plateau overlooking central Numidia. Before the Roman occupation, a small Libyan town had been located there. During the Roman imperial period, Tiddis was a fortified village (*castellum*) in the territory of the colony Cirta. Although the *castellum* never rose to the status of a Roman *municipium*, it received gubernatorial favor in the form of market rights in the third century. In the fourth century, a prosperous industrial quarter grew up in one part of the village, where ARS, lamps, figurines, and coarsewares were manufactured.

Around 11,000 coins were found at Tiddis, more than 90 percent of them bronze coins of the fourth century C.E. Most come from coin hoards of the fifth to seventh century C.E. and therefore reflect the coins in circulation *at that time* rather than coin use over the centuries. The stray finds from the excavations (714 coins) provide a better picture of coin circulation.¹¹² All of the stray finds (like the hoards) consisted of base metal coins of bronze or lead (no gold or silver coins were found). An analysis of their chronology (fig. 13) shows that the incidence of coins declined significantly in the early imperial period, falling from 346 under the Numidian kings (third-first century B.C.E.) to only 37 in the first century C.E. and 41 in the second. The third century C.E., the period when the *castellimi* received market rights, witnessed an increase to 107 coins. Identifiable coins peaked in the fourth century—especially in the first half—with 194 coins. During the fifth century, new coins virtually disappeared from the stray finds, though not from the coin hoards. The hoards suggest that small change continued to be relatively plentiful in Tiddis through the early sixth century, in the form of tiny *minimi* that were too badly eroded to be identifiable in the stray finds.¹¹³ Considering that many of the stray finds came from the “forum” (which was probably the *castellum*’s marketplace), we might consider them as evidence that commercial activities at Tiddis were at their greatest intensity during the fourth century (as well as

in the Numidian period), a finding supported by the ceramic evidence discussed above.

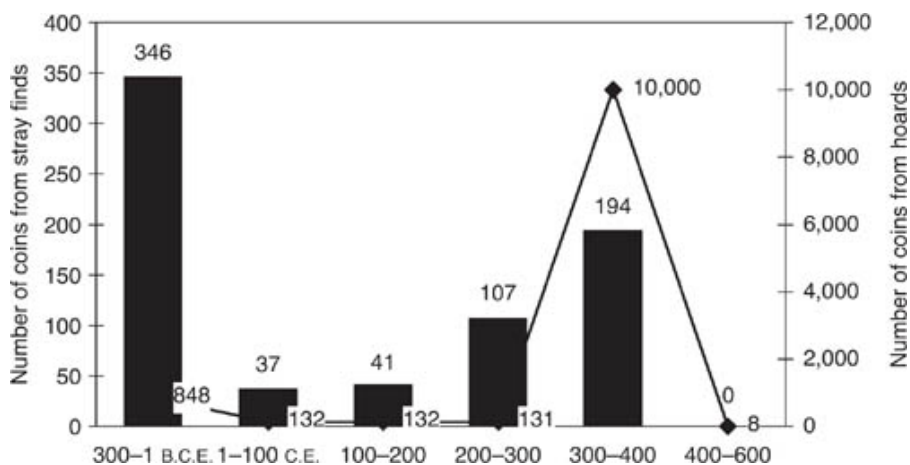


FIGURE 13. Coins found at Tiddis. Bars = stray finds from excavations; line = coins from hoards. (Data from Berthier [2000].)

Although Tiddis can hardly be regarded as a typical North African village, archaeological work elsewhere in North Africa suggests that coins generally became more plentiful at the larger rural sites during the fourth century C.E. The Segermes Survey found a total of 109 ancient coins, a relatively large number for a survey. All of these were bronze, half of them so worn that they had to be dated by type rather than inscription. Thirteen (10 percent) were from the Punic period (fourth-second century B.C.E.), six (6 percent) from the imperial period (100 B.C.E.–250 C.E.), and eighty-four (77 percent) from the late Roman or Vandal periods (250–535 C.E.).¹¹⁴ The largest single group was unattributed *minimi* of the late fourth to the mid-sixth century. The sites where coins were found were, above all, the *municipium* Segermes itself (thirty-six coins), but also the larger villages (Sidi Zit—twenty-seven coins; Ahmed Rouigued—twelve coins; and C 17—nine coins), the villas (K 16—nine coins; N 12—three coins; D 10—three coins), and the small “rural agglomeration” B 16 (two coins).¹¹⁵ It is possible that coins were particularly concentrated in the places with rural markets.¹¹⁶ As in Roman Britain, the increase in the presence of coins seems to have begun in the late third century (ca. 260 C.E.), when the heavily debased *antoniniani* of Gallienus and “Divo Claudio” flooded the market.

The Thugga Survey discovered twenty-two coins, nine from the survey and fourteen from the excavation of a late antique farm at Aïn Wassel. The chronology is similar to Segermes—a relatively large number of coins (13.6 percent) from the late Punic period (fourth-third century B.C.E.), none at all from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., one from the second century C.E., and the majority from the fourth and fifth centuries. All of the coins were bronze, except for a fragmentary silver *siliqua* of Mauricius

Tiberius (582–602 C.E.) and a *solidus* of Justinian.¹¹⁷ As at Segermes, the fourth and fifth centuries were the peak in the number of coins.

The twenty-seven identifiable coins from the Kasserine Survey were all bronze of the late third to early sixth century, broadly in line with the fineware from this survey. The earliest was an *antoninianus* from the 270s. More than 60 percent were from the fourth century (especially the second half), and 37 percent were from the Vandal period. The greatest concentration of coins was found at the “agroville” Ksar el Guelal (nineteen coins) and the large industrial villa Henchir el Guellali (fourteen coins), which were centers of both artisan (esp. pottery) production and agricultural processing.¹¹⁸

Excavations of specific farms present a mixed picture. Sidi Ghrib, a large late Roman villa on a main thoroughfare to Carthage, was a virtually coinless site, despite its possession of a luxurious bathhouse redecorated in the late fourth / early fifth century.¹¹⁹ In contrast, the excavators of the large farm Nador in Mauretania Caesariensis found an astonishing 1,131 coins, almost all of them bronze and dating to the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. Only a handful of these coins predated the fourth century, despite the existence of a *villa rustica* at the site from the first through the third century C.E.¹²⁰ For all this abundance of late imperial coins, Nador had little of the luxury of Sidi Ghrib—no bathhouse, few (if any) mosaics, only a monumental entrance bearing the name of the owner. The excavators interpreted the coin finds as the remnants of multiple small hoards from the peasant farmers who last occupied the site, having turned the farm into a sort of village during the Vandal period.¹²¹

Comparisons with urban sites in North Africa suggest that the availability of coins was increasing overall, not just in the countryside. Excavations at cities as diverse as Bulla Regia in Tunisia, Lepcis Magna in Libya, and Zilil in Morocco show a predominance of money struck in the fourth century C.E.¹²² At Carthage, the peak of coinage comes later: the most common coins there are the tiny fifth- and sixth-century *minimi*, even though the city appears to have already had a fully monetized economy in the early empire.¹²³ The difference, when compared to the rural areas, is one of degree. Most North African cities did not shift from an almost complete absence of coins in the imperial period to plenty in the fourth century, as seems to have been the case in the countryside.

The mechanisms by which this coinage got into the hands of the rustics remain unclear. Jairus Banaji has made a compelling argument that landlords were paying wages to peasants in late antiquity and that the term *colonus* more often referred to such wage laborers rather than to our traditional notion of tenant farmer.¹²⁴ These wages often took the form of notes of credit (*pittakia*) that could be traded in for cash or kind.¹²⁵ The rural artisans whose activities have been traced above may have also been paid money wages or fees.¹²⁶ However, any general shift toward money wages in late Roman North Africa must remain unproven—and unprovable—in the current state of the

evidence. North African *ostraka* from the fourth and fifth centuries show a fair amount of bronze changing hands among the rural population, but none of it in the form of wages.¹²⁷ And the only thing we can say for certain about North African tenancy arrangements is that some *coloni* were sharecroppers; this was as true at the end of the fifth century as in the second. These farmers would have acquired coin not by collecting wages, but by selling their share of the produce.¹²⁸

My own view is that what we are seeing in the late third and fourth centuries is not a shift toward wage labor (which probably already existed) or the belated adoption of Roman monetary habits, but rather a change in the *supply* of small change. The imperial production of base metal coins peaked in the late fourth century.¹²⁹ Rural populations didn't use small change in the first two centuries C.E. because there was very little of it to use. For reasons that have not been fully explained, the *as* and its divisions weren't minted in sufficient quantities to reach the provincial countryside.¹³⁰ This probably did not prevent peasants from using coins—or at least calculating in terms of coins—when making large transactions, but it helps explain the rarity of imperial coins in surveys and excavations. Silver *denarii* and the large bronze sesterces were far less likely to be lost than the tiny *minimi* of the late empire.¹³¹ Moreover, even in late antiquity, the more valuable coins appear to have been used as an accounting device more than as physical objects: the value of the season's crop or wages could be calculated in silver or gold and applied toward taxes, rent, or debt without any actual coins being involved.¹³² The small change that we find at the archaeological sites is what fell between the cracks—the change received after a payment of a debt or tax, the proceeds from the sale of domestic artisan goods (like the handmade Calcutic ware), or the monthly subsistence payment given to a rural artisan.¹³³ What had changed is that base metal coinage was now actually available for such secondary uses, due to an increased imperial supply (more on this below).

Even if the archaeological evidence doesn't give us a complete picture of the degree of monetization during the early imperial period, one important point is clear. By the late third century, rural North Africans had for the first time since the pre-Roman period regained access to small change, the kind of money a peasant could use to buy pottery from a peddler or entry to a local bath. This influx of small change may have helped jump-start peasant consumption by making money a part of daily life.

EXPLANATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

I have argued above that the “settlement growth” in the core provinces of late Roman North Africa might be better understood as the final diffusion of Romanized commodities to populations that had been previously excluded

from them. Even in those provinces that did not share in the economic prosperity of Tunisia and eastern Algeria, the material gap between the estates and the villages lessened. In North Africa, as in other regions of the Roman Empire, the second century had been the age of the landlords. The large farms acquired fineware out of proportion to their population, while many of the lesser-status settlements had none at all. By the late fourth century, this preferential access to fineware was weakening. Local workshops were producing regional fineware bearing a family resemblance to the ARS of the high empire, and the inhabitants of villages and small farms were eating on it. There are signs that other manufactured goods—metal tools, clothing, and ceramic tiles—may have also had increased production and diffusion. By the late fourth century, more farmers and villagers were consuming commodities than before.

The reasons behind this increase in local production and consumption are more difficult to determine. It is the fashion to point to Mediterranean trade as the source of North African wealth.¹³⁴ The export of Tunisian amphoras and ARS fineware to Italy peaked in the fourth century. Indeed Tunisian amphoras represented more than 50 percent of all amphoras in deposits at Rome by the late fourth century.¹³⁵ These percentages fell somewhat after the Vandal invasion, but an increase in exports to Spain and, by the sixth century, to the eastern Mediterranean helped make up for the decline in the Italian market.¹³⁶ One could imagine a “trickle-down” effect, by which a portion of the wealth generated from trade in agricultural commodities ended up in the hands of the farmers who produced them.¹³⁷

There are, however, reasons to doubt whether the profits from such longdistance exports were sufficient to account for the changes in rural consumption suggested by the archaeological record. What proportion of North African exports actually represents “trade” rather than coerced in-kind taxes (the *annona*)?¹³⁸ Was the overall *volume* of exports increasing at a time when the economies of Italy, Spain, and much of Gaul appear to have been in decline?¹³⁹ Some of the areas with the strongest evidence of late Roman “settlement growth”—Segermes, for example—do not have the numbers of olive presses consistent with production for export, and the land was too marginal to produce much in the way of surplus grain.¹⁴⁰ Recent scholarship on the Roman economy has begun to question the market-based models for economic growth that were popular in the 1990s (in many ways returning to the substantivist approach of Moses Finley). According to Walter Scheidel, economic growth within any segment of the Roman economy was not likely to occur without institutional change, especially in the “arrangements that governed the rate of surplus extraction via rents, taxes, tribute, serfdom and slavery.”¹⁴¹

Rather than focus on long-distance trade, we would do better to look for the changes that may have fostered the development of local artisanal industries and exchange from the late third to fifth century. There are two

developments to explain: how regions such as central Tunisia and Numidia escaped economic dependence on northern Tunisia and engaged in the large-scale manufacture of commodities; and how the villages and estates became production centers in their own right.

The impetus for regional production may have initially been created by the third-century crisis, which in the 230s C.E. sent the empire into a spiral of civil war and hyperinflation that would last for fifty years. The collapse of the ARS A industry in northern Tunisia ca. 230 C.E. has been directly connected to the political rift between Italy and Africa in the late Severan period.¹⁴² It is no accident that ARS C in central Tunisia and ARS C/E farther to the south began production between 220–230 C.E., and Tripolitanian Red Slip later in the third century.¹⁴³ A possible scenario was that northern Tunisian production flagged because of the disruption of shipping between Carthage and Italy (Africa's main market). Central and southern Tunisians, finding it difficult to obtain fineware from the north or seeing an opportunity to become exporters themselves, began to produce their own. At first these products would have gone to the same consumers who had been purchasing ARS A, but by the fourth century the reduction in price due to lighter transportation costs helped create a new customer base. It was not until the Byzantine period that the dominance of northern Tunisia was reestablished.¹⁴⁴ British India in the early twentieth century provides an interesting parallel for this growth of the periphery in response to the weakening of the core. As a consequence of World War I and the worldwide economic depression, reliance on European imports gave way to a revival of Indian manufacture for the domestic market.¹⁴⁵

The inflation of the currency during the third century may also have, rather paradoxically, played a positive role. The debasement of the coinage—and the decentralization of mints (for a short time, giving even North Africa a mint)—arguably brought small change into the hands of rural consumers for the first time since the Roman conquest.¹⁴⁶ Even though the emperors periodically tried to reassert monetary discipline in the fourth century, low-value bronze coins remained readily available until the middle of the fifth century. The extent to which this small change had become essential to North Africans in both town and country is demonstrated by their efforts to maintain it during the Vandal period—through reusing, counterfeiting, and eventually mimicking late imperial bronze.¹⁴⁷ Only in the Byzantine period, after Tiberius discontinued the minting of bronze *minimi* at Carthage, did the region experience once again a scarcity of small change.¹⁴⁸ By weakening the connection between the provinces and the center(s) of the empire, the third-century crisis seems to have inadvertently promoted the development of regional artisan industries and the circulation of coinage.

The third-century crisis may be the most important factor for explaining why central and southern Tunisia, and, eventually, eastern Algeria became independent centers of manufacturing. It does not, however, explain the

marked increase in rural workshops during the fourth century. Why did pottery production expand from the cities to the villages and estates, and glass and metal workshops appear in the countryside? This proliferation of rural workshops didn't just happen in Africa, but in distant regions like Britain and Asia Minor as well, a phenomenon that has sometimes been connected to a growing self-sufficiency of the estate or (in the eastern Mediterranean) the village economy.¹⁴⁹ While I would admit that the increased private (as opposed to municipal) control of land and natural resources played a role, this was not localism or estate self-sufficiency as traditionally understood. The more sophisticated estate workshops in North Africa exported their wares to distant markets such as Carthage or Rome.¹⁵⁰ Even the smaller fineware workshops made standardized wares, which were produced with a high level of skill. Rather than a descent into economic autarky, this was an integrated, highly complex economy, involving closer connections between urban and rural markets than had been the case during the high empire.¹⁵¹

Based on what we know about the organization of pottery kilns and other crafts elsewhere in the empire, the actual operators of these workshops would have been independent contractors of relatively humble status, not the landlords themselves (landlords preferred to get their profit by leasing the land and selling the necessary raw materials rather than through direct management of workshops).¹⁵² Even the large-scale “nucleated workshop industries” appear to have consisted of many small independent workshops.¹⁵³ Those in charge would have been, by necessity, master artisans with highly developed skills, but the majority of the laborers would have been ordinary slaves or *coloni*, who were available for hire during the slack seasons of the agricultural calendar.¹⁵⁴ As Dennis Kehoe has recently suggested, there was probably a connection between the export-oriented “nucleated” workshops and the less-sophisticated small workshops that often appeared nearby, in that the master artisans would train apprentices who then set up their own kilns to serve a local market.¹⁵⁵ We might compare the effect of the “cottage industries” of early modern England on rural artisan crafts: when rural laborers engaged in specialized, export-oriented artisan manufacturing, local handicrafts did not decline but rather diversified, both because their producers sought to find niches not met by imports and because local consumers now had more disposable income.¹⁵⁶

However, the Roman economy was not structured in such a way as to make this sort of rural entrepreneurship easy—or even possible—without the active support of the elites.¹⁵⁷ From what we understand about the “transaction costs” of the Roman economy, landlords and other elite would have needed to facilitate rural manufacturing—by giving loans to independent contractors to buy their equipment, renting out the land for workshops, selling raw materials such as clay and wood for fuel, and obtaining government permission to hold *nundinae* to market the wares. Recent scholarship has emphasized that the potential profits from the “market” would not have been a sufficient incentive

for such investment; a fiscal “push” was also necessary.¹⁵⁸ Of particular importance is the location of taxation, as the need to convert agricultural surplus into money has been viewed as a main driver of commodity exchange in the Roman world.¹⁵⁹ So the question becomes, What had changed in the organization of surplus extraction by the fourth century to make landlords more willing to support the type of rural production and consumption that we can discern in the archaeology?

A series of developments had taken place by the late fourth century that made the estate (*fundus*), rather than the *civitas*, the main payer of taxes. As Walter Goffart demonstrated three decades ago, the imperial government from Diocletian on had stopped assessing taxes on communities as a whole and began to enforce a schedule of assessments on the individual taxpayers (although the decurions were still responsible for the actual collection).¹⁶⁰ By the late fourth century, tax liability had come to be attached to the land itself, in accordance with its fertility. This reduced the freedom of the *civitas* to creatively distribute the tax burden (for example, by having magistrates make compulsory contributions or by using the funds from local endowments or monopolies). Now the various estates really had to pay the taxes they were assigned.¹⁶¹ The implications of this development for nonagricultural production have not yet been fully explored but may have been significant. Whereas, previously, artisan workshops (in particular, the “public” workshops owned by the cities) could help pay the overall tax burden owed to Rome, fourth-century taxpayers would benefit from this revenue only if a workshop was on their own land.¹⁶² Furthermore, by the late fourth century, many estates had come to possess full *autopragia*—the right to pay their tax directly to the state and bypass the *civitas* altogether.¹⁶³ These fiscal changes gave landlords an incentive to maximize the production—non-agricultural as well as agricultural—of their individual estates, rather than care about the overall revenues of the *civitas* and its territory.

A related development is the much-discussed imperial confiscation of municipal estates and revenues (*vectigalia*). In the fourth century, Constantine or possibly Constantius II transferred all public municipal lands and revenues to the imperial treasury.¹⁶⁴ Although the cities still got a portion of the revenues (and Julian temporarily restored them all), this constituted a significant loss of control over the land, forest, and market rights that were important for manufacturing. Much of the formerly municipal land appears to have been leased out (like the imperial estates) on long-term emphyteutic leases or distributed as gifts to those in imperial favor.¹⁶⁵ In North Africa this did not have any catastrophic effect on city buildings (or indeed on urban production),¹⁶⁶ but the “management” role of the *civitas* over its territory had been reduced.

Neither the changes in taxation nor the privatization of civic resources would have mattered so much if the landlords had still primarily been the local decurion families who had an incentive for protecting the economic and

social dominance of the town. But the days were rapidly passing away when most of the owners of land in a city's territory would have been local decurions.¹⁶⁷ The landlords that we hear about in the letters of Augustine of Hippo are imperial officials and men and women of the senatorial order (often ex-imperial officials), many of them absentee.¹⁶⁸ They did not own large, consolidated, administratively separate estates (*saltus*), which were more typical of the early empire, but rather smaller estates (*fundi*) within various urban territories. The frequent confiscation of land—or the threat of confiscation—for tax delinquency had allowed such landlords to aggrandize enormous (although very dispersed) estates in the course of the fourth century.¹⁶⁹ These wealthy landlords did not completely supplant the local decurions: in order to fulfill their tax responsibilities, decurions must have continued to own land or at least “possess” it under lease.¹⁷⁰ The point is that now, more than ever before, authority in the countryside was contested. Many peasants would have worked for grandiose and distant landlords, rather than for proud local families who had held estates for generations and who resided in a nearby town.

The greater distance, both social and physical, between these absentee landlords and their peasants meant that the landlords' interests tended to be, above all, financial.¹⁷¹ They had little incentive to maintain the social constraints on peasant consumption—rather, the opposite. The wealthiest, particularly senatorial, landlords had long been willing to allow the development of workshops and markets on their estates. They are the ones who, as early as the second century C.E., petitioned for market rights for their Italian and North African estates, over the objections of the local towns. They were allowing—if not actually financing—the establishment of pottery kilns, smith workshops, and even bathhouses for the use of their rustics in the fourth century.¹⁷²

Rather than feeling threatened by peasant consumption, the wealthiest members of Roman society considered it a status symbol to have estates with the amenities of towns and rustics who looked like *urbani*. In order to demonstrate the magnitude of the wealth that the aristocrat Melania gave away as charity, her hagiographer described a North African estate that she bestowed on the bishop of Thagaste. The estate was larger than Thagaste itself, “having a bathhouse, many craftsmen, gold, silver, and coppersmiths, and two bishops, one of our faith and one of the heretics.”¹⁷³ John Chrysostom rebuked his wealthy congregation in Constantinople for building their peasants inns, bathhouses, and marketplaces “for the glory” as well as the profit of it.¹⁷⁴ The Dominus Julius mosaic, found in a mansion in Carthage, displayed tenants who for all their abject subordination to the landlord were dressed better than most townspeople. The likes of Julius and Melania did not worry that bejeweled, bath-taking rustics would blur the distinction between landlord and *colonus*, for however well-dressed the peasant, landlords like these could dress far better. It even served to heighten

the distinction between them and the lesser elite of Roman society—especially the small town decurions, who in their lifestyle might find themselves resembling their neighbors’ *rustici*.

But besides the emperors willing to liberalize rural manufacturing for fiscal reasons and absentee landlords finding profit and glory in possessing estates that resembled towns, there is another group to consider—the peasants themselves. These farmers, tenants, and villagers were no longer content with subsistence-level self-sufficiency or a separate “indigenous” material culture but rather sought participation in the architecture and objects that marked civilized human beings for their time. They did not acquire these things by importation, but through the more difficult process of learning to make them themselves. What evidence we have suggests that many of the olive presses, pottery kilns, and bathhouses were leased—and sometimes owned—by humble, even peasant operators rather than managed by large landlords directly.¹⁷⁵ Domestic production by peasant women may even have played a role: it has recently been suggested that the widely distributed Calcutic ware (a handmade cooking ware dated to the fourth-seventh century C.E.) was produced by rural women.¹⁷⁶ The archaeological record of late Roman North Africa represents thousands of small acts of entrepreneurship and aspiration, undertaken by people unable to communicate to us in any other way. And in the process of becoming consumers, they broke four centuries of stereotypes about the rustic, stereotypes that had by no means lost their persuasive power.

IMPLICATIONS: THE DANGERS OF RESEMBLANCE

How does this connect to the problem posed in the introduction—the perceived rebelliousness of the rustic? It depends on what using fineware, putting roof tiles on small houses, and building bathhouses meant—both to the rustics doing it, and to others observing it. Dining on fine pottery, in itself, would not have been seen as going above oneself in the fourth century C.E., partly because the social meaning of pottery had changed. In the second century, the owners of fashionable North African town houses had portrayed themselves drinking from ceramic bowls, and Apuleius had assumed that the average rustic would not be using ceramic at all. In contrast, by the fourth century, pottery had become the tableware of the poor. The rich had better things to eat on. Possidius, the bishop of Calama in the early fifth century, noted with some embarrassment that Augustine had eaten on dishes made of ceramic, wood, or marble instead of metal. He took care to explain that the dishes were nevertheless of good quality and that Augustine used them not out of dire necessity but of his own free will.¹⁷⁷ When Augustine himself asked his audience to imagine a rich man’s house, it contained golden and silver

vessels, not ceramic.¹⁷⁸ Now it was the poor who had the preferential access to pottery.

Bathhouses were a different story. Well into the fifth century, rustics are assumed to have nothing to do with bathhouses.¹⁷⁹ A late Roman military treatise advised recruiting rustics as soldiers because they were ignorant of baths and other luxuries. According to John Chrysostom, “Baths make the peasants softer and taverns make them more inclined to wantonness. . . . Markets and festivals, in turn, make them insolent.”¹⁸⁰ We see in this sermon how an urban style of living undermined the very qualities that had been idealized in the rustic—his physical strength, his stable home life, his respect for those in authority (*verecundia*). The bishop’s point was that landlords should instead be building churches, which had none of these ill effects (or so he thought).

In late Roman fables, we can see a similar concern that material appropriation might lead to insolence in other matters. In a late fourth-century Latin retelling of a popular fable of Aesop, an ass clothed himself in “unsuitable coverings”—the skin of an African lion. Such dress affected his mind—he started to act with “presumptuous energy,” frightening the other animals and trampling the pasture. The farmer was not fooled, recognizing him by his long ears. He snatched off the lion’s skin and punished the ass with blows and chains. The moral of the tale: each man ought to be content with his proper honors, without appropriating to himself the attributes of another.¹⁸¹ The moral in a fifth-century Greek version of the same tale is more explicit: “One who is poor and illiterate should not mimic the behavior of the wealthy.”¹⁸²

Two different late Roman reactions to the increasing resemblance among different economic and social groups offer a conclusion to the discussion above. A North African episode of Sulpicius Severus’s *Dialogues* narrates an encounter between an educated ascetic named Postumianus and an isolated Tripolitanian community.¹⁸³ While traveling from Carthage to Alexandria, Postumianus’s ship is stalled on the Tripolitanian coast by Syrtica, a region where the arid zone extends to the coast (and which recent archaeological surveys show to have been doing unusually badly in the fourth and fifth centuries). Curious to explore a wasteland “empty of human cultivation,” Postumianus walks three miles inland before reaching a hut (*tugurium*), which is small, low to the ground, and surrounded by sand. He discovers that Sallust is right about African dwellings: “Just as Sallust says, it was like the keel of a ship” (referring to Sallust’s description of the *mapalia* in *lug.* 18.8). The local inhabitants roofed their best buildings with “vile brushwood.” There are no visible crops near the hut; it is set on desert as barren as the sea. Within the hut Postumianus finds an old man “in skin clothing, turning a mill with his hand.”¹⁸⁴ The inhabitants of this place neither use money nor go to a market. In short, it looked as though after more than 400 years of Roman rule North Africans in this marginal region still lived, ate, and dressed in ways

resembling their ancestors (or at least a Roman's image of their ancestors).

What had changed was Postumianus's reaction. Instead of characterizing the natives as rustics or barbarians, he tells the old man in the hut that he wants to learn about "the nature of the places and the culture of the inhabitants," especially whether there are any Christians "among those solitudes" (*Dial.* 1.4.2). He came to find members of his own group. The old man tells him that they are all Christians and soon leads him to the church—some two miles away—a building scarcely larger than the hut and also covered with brushwood. Over the days he spends with the "Cyrenenses," Postumianus learns how their peculiarities are adaptations to their environment. The buildings are built with sturdy boards (*tabulae*), which along with their low height protects them from the desert wind. He finds that in the hollows behind the dunes some plants grow, allowing the locals to graze animals and plant one harvest a year. He dines on his host's barley bread and vegetables, including a sweet-tasting herb similar to mint. Despite his willingness to explore their lifestyle, these people seem desperately poor to him. His first instinct is to give them money, as he would to the paupers at home (*Dial.* 1.5.5). The old man (who turns out to be the local priest) refuses Postumianus's offer of gold but accepts a gift of clothing, a significant gesture in a society where clothing immediately identified the ethnic and social identity of the wearer. The refusal of gold changes Postumianus's feelings to admiration—these are "angeli" (*Dial.* 1.4.6), voluntary paupers, who choose to live in a wasteland to avoid entanglement with the secular world.¹⁸⁵ On the one hand, Postumianus's reaction to these people shows that the ideal rustics are still those who live without complaint in grinding poverty and self-sufficiency. On the other hand, Postumianus can no longer consider this natural. He has to go through a complicated mental process to explain the material poverty of the Cyrenenses because he assumes that, given the opportunity, they would choose to live like himself.

At the other extreme, are the two poems from the Codex Salmasianus of the *Latin Anthology* (assembled shortly after 534 in Carthage), which depict a poor man who displays more wealth than is really proper. Both poems belong to a group of poems (R. 90–197) that are believed to be by the same late antique North African author.¹⁸⁶ In no. 168 (R. 178), the poet records his surprise when the "pauper" Vita builds himself a bathhouse: "For he erected new baths in a narrow field. . . . What nature denies, industry confers on small men; there are hardly rich men who have the good things (this) pauper has."¹⁸⁷ Like the same poet's satire about a rival poet from tribal Africa ("De Arzugitano poeta"),¹⁸⁸ there is an element of ridicule in these texts. By building a bath and a garden through labor alone, the pauper cheats a "nature" that denied wealth to both him and his land. The pauper's skillful labor ("industria," "sollers," "sedulus"), repeatedly evoked, is fundamentally *unnatural* when used to endow his own poor acres ("parvula iugera") with urban amenities.¹⁸⁹ The tone of these poems resembles *Latin Anthology* 341,

which has been attributed to the Vandal-period poet Luxorius. Luxorius describes an amphitheater built on a *villa* next to the sea, where a rural “mob” might look at the shows of wild beasts while they plow.¹⁹⁰ Manual labor is mixed with the physical settings of *otium*; the waters and shows properly reserved for free men are being enjoyed by rustics. And it is not altogether clear that the poets are pleased by these developments.

I would suggest that the late antique consumer revolution became possible because the political and social constraints on peasant consumption had begun to break down. During the disorders of the third century, regional fineware workshops began to develop outside northern Tunisia, and the debasement of the coinage brought small change into the hands of ordinary people for the first time since the late Punic period. When order was restored under the Tetrarchy, no longer were municipalities allowed to operate unchallenged in their territories. Municipal control over water, the forest, and other resources necessary for industry was weakened by the imperial takeover of municipal revenues. Changes in tax assessment gave fourth-century landlords a strong incentive to foster rural workshops. At the same time, the social constraints on peasant consumption were lessening. A landholding bureaucratic class (the “aristocracy of service”) whose interests extended beyond their immediate city began to develop. The concentration of land and the extreme mobility of the land market helped create a greater distance—both social and geographic—between landlords and their *coloni*. The wealthiest of these landowners did not feel threatened by peasant consumers; on the contrary, it added to the landowners’ own glory (and profit) to have peasants who behaved like townspeople.

This theme—how the fragmentation of the elite opened the way for peasants to participate in the wider currents of their time—will recur. The economic structures, however, were changing more rapidly than the mental structures of this society. No late Roman landlord particularly cared if her tenant ate on a glossy red platter, since the landlord could afford a silver one. A pauper with a bathhouse was more disturbing, since he may have crossed the line between necessity and luxury. The material differences between *rustici* and *urbani* in the second century had justified the subordination of the one to the other, almost unconsciously. Now that the “natural” differences between those who labored and those who ruled had diminished, the danger was that the same combination of aspiration and wealth that led farmers and villagers to obtain fineware might make them desire something more precious—political communities.

PART TWO

The Struggle for Community

Romans exercised their citizenship through membership in their local city-states. A person who did not belong to a city-state had difficulty obtaining protection from the laws, no matter what his or her theoretical “rights” may have been.³ A host of privileges, ranging from the ability to participate in local elections to civic grain distributions, depended on this membership. The defining characteristic of the “rural” populations of the Roman Empire was not their mode of subsistence (for the citizens of a republic could also be farmers), or even their residence (for citizenship derived from the status of one’s parents, not residence in a city’s urban core), but the fact that they were not listed in a *res publica*’s register (*matrix publica*) of citizens.⁴ And although the *coloni* of an estate could develop a collective identity of a sort, it was an involuntary and dishonorable identity, derived from being under the power of the same master.

One might have expected the growing wealth and cultural integration of the North African countryside in the fourth and fifth centuries to have led to a desire to form *res publicae*. This is what had happened before. In the early third century (the first period of fineware diffusion), some North African villages had begun to act like self-governing communities, electing their own magistrates, building temples, and, when possible, petitioning to become fully recognized Roman municipalities. By analogy, the villagers and *coloni* of the late empire might be expected to have sought, if not formal municipal status, something close to it, which would allow them to control their communal finances and enforce the law, and not be at the whim of a powerful landlord or “mother” city.

Instead, the opposite seems to have happened. As M. Rostovtzeff concluded for the late Roman Empire as a whole, “The germs of self-government, which had developed in the village communities in the second century and even in the third, were involved in the common ruin and disappeared.”⁵ W. H. C. Frend, who did not believe in “the common ruin” of the late empire, nevertheless noted that North African villages stopped trying to obtain municipal status:

Down to about 240 A.D. one of the aims of *coloni* on settlements on similar land further north in Mauretania Sitifensis was to advance their status. They were interested in their *castella* and *oppida* graduating to municipal rank.... This society accepted romanisation and its accompaniments of public buildings and display of material wealth as a proper objective. In the next century, it evidently did not.⁶

If we leave aside their differing interpretations of cause, Rostovtzeff and Frend were discussing the same phenomenon. In second- and third-century inscriptions, some rural communities had their own magistrates, financed shrines to Roman gods and emperors, and sought to become republics. There is little evidence that they continued to do so in the fourth century. Only one late Roman inscription from North Africa refers to a magistrate of a village (*castellum*), and (as far as we know) no new cities were created between the

early fourth and sixth centuries. And although part of the reason for the lack of evidence might be the overall decline in the number of inscriptions, the abundant literary and juridical sources are almost equally silent about village officials.⁷

Rather than village government being extended further, the power of landlords over their *coloni* was formally recognized in the fourth and fifth centuries. Although historians continue to debate whether the late Roman colonate was a fiscal invention of the imperial government or a formalization of long-standing tenant-landlord relations, it nevertheless seems clear that late imperial laws display a more positive attitude toward seignorial power in the fourth century than before.⁸ Villages and estates may have continued to have their *magistri* and *seniores* (and there is some evidence that they did), but when it came to dealing with the outside world, their authority was weak. First, we will examine the conditions that fostered the recognition of rural self-government in the third century C.E., and then we will explore why these conditions no longer applied in the fourth.

THE FATE OF THE VILLAGES IN THE EARLY IMPERIAL PERIOD

Despite Rostovtzeff's inclination to attribute the development of village self-government to Roman influence, the overall effect of Roman rule had been to weaken, not strengthen, rural communities. The Romans had no clear concept of a village community comparable to the Greek *kōmē*; instead, they preferred to organize their provinces into cities and estates.⁹ The early history of rural communities in Roman North Africa is therefore one of subordination and dispersal. When the villages did revive, it was by mimicking the municipalities, the only model of self-governing communities they had.

When the Romans arrived in North Africa, they found a region of many and varied collectives. Strabo referred to 300 *poleis* in the region of Carthage alone in 149 B.C.E.¹⁰ Pliny the Elder, using sources reflecting conditions under Caesar and Augustus, listed 516 *populi* for North Africa. Relatively few of these peoples fit the Roman concept of a town (*urbs*, *oppidum*). Among Pliny's list of 516 "peoples," only 53 were *oppida* or *coloniae*. Many of the remaining 463 were what Pliny called *nationes*, that is, tribes.¹¹ There were in addition thousands of villages, which never made it into any lists: the majority of North Africans, according to Pliny, lived in *castella*.¹² Some of these *castella* behaved with a remarkable degree of autonomy, sending their own legations to Roman commanders.¹³ In short, the Romans had acquired a region of many collectives but considered relatively few of them worthy of the respect accorded real cities.

As already discussed with reference to the archaeological data in [chapter 2](#),

the Roman government allowed many of these North African villages, towns, and tribes to exist without much disruption until the first century C.E. There are even signs that, as in the Hellenistic East, the Romans appropriated preexisting forms of administration. For example, an early inscription records a *pagus* Thuscae et Gunzuzi with sixty-four *civitates* and an ex-centurion as prefect. This *pagus* has been convincingly connected to a Carthaginian district (*chora*) called Thusca in Appian's *Libyca*, which contained fifty *poleis*.¹⁴

This changed under the Principate, when the administrative structures of Africa became much more Roman.¹⁵ The Romans had a variety of strategies for dealing with North African collectives. Some remained independent *res publicae* with their own territories. Others were "attributed" to imperial estates (*saltus*), tribes (*gentes*), or *res publicae*. The majority had their lands redistributed and were left without any collective status at all. There were thus two types of community recognition in imperial North Africa: recognition as a subordinate "citizenship" (*civitas*) that belonged to the territory of another, and recognition as an independent *res publica* with the right of self-government. Most North Africans belonged to neither.

The surviving Libyan tribes (*gentes*) stood outside the municipal system altogether. Some of them occupied land that was part of large imperial estates. Others were given their own territories, as determined by an official Roman surveyor and recorded on boundary stones.¹⁶ This did not, however, mean that they were left with their social structures intact. Roman *praefecti gentis* supervised them, making them less autonomous than the *res publicae*. Their independence increased somewhat in the fourth century, when prefects started to be appointed from powerful families within the tribes rather than from outside them.¹⁷ With their domination by "big men," they remained the antithesis of civic communities. As Yves Modéran has recently shown, North African authors used the terms *gens* and *Maurus* to mean an absence of a civic organization rather than a difference of ethnicity.¹⁸

The independent *res publicae* ranged from powerful Roman colonies like Carthage and Cirta to small peregrine (noncitizen) *oppida*. With their Punic or Libyan laws and magistrates (*sufetes* or *seniores*), the peregrine towns were a strange mix of Roman and African.¹⁹ Less powerful than the *municipia* or *coloniae*, whose inhabitants enjoyed Latin or Roman citizenship, they constituted the bottom tier of independent North African communities.

The *pagi*, *castella*, and *vici* that had obtained only partial communal recognition differed from independent republics in being attributed to the territory of a republic or large estate (*saltus*). As defined in Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* (which drew on earlier sources), "Communities (*civitates*) are called either *coloniae* or *municipia* or *vici* or *castella* or *pagi*."²⁰ In addition, "*Vici* and *castella* and *pagi* are those that are not adorned with any dignity of a city but rather are inhabited by a common gathering of people and, on account of their smallness, are attributed to cities greater than themselves."²¹ Outside magistrates collected the taxes of such attributed villages and could

redistribute their land. In an inscription from the first century B.C.E., M. Caelius Phileros, a former aedile of Carthage and *praefectus iure dicundo* for the colony's territory, collected the five-year tribute ("vectigalibus quinquennialibus locandis") from eighty-three *castella*.²² The same official is found dividing a *castellum* between Roman colonists and the native inhabitants.²³ Methods of administering such rural communities varied over place and time. Prefects like Phileros oversaw *castella* and *civitates* in the territories of the large colonies at least until the second century C.E.²⁴ Other rural communities were directly managed by the chief magistrates (*duumviri*) of their mother city.²⁵ Not until the third century do we find examples of villages with some degree of fiscal autonomy, and, as will be discussed below, this does not last long.

North African *res publicae* exercised strong control over their attributed communities. The title *iure dicundo* given to the prefects implies that they were judging civil disputes in their territories.²⁶ A distinguished senator writing a treatise on surveying under Domitian described North African republics jealously guarding their power to requisition services, supplies, and military recruits from subordinate villages (*vici*):

Res publicae are accustomed to bring suits over the right of territory because they claim the necessity of imposing *munera* in a certain part of the land or of levying recruits from a *vicus*, or of imposing cartage services or the transport of supplies on those places that the *res publicae* are attempting to claim.²⁷

This statement implies that the inhabitants of attributed communities were expected to pay their taxes and send recruits to their mother cities, as well as contribute to various civic *munera*—temples, roads, aqueducts—from which they would benefit in only a limited way.

Attribution may not have stopped rural communities from having their own council of elders (*seniores*) or settling internal disputes according to their traditional laws,²⁸ but it is easy to see how it may have discouraged conspicuous collective behavior. A village that was asking its inhabitants to finance temples (and setting up inscriptions to announce it) was in danger of making itself seem less able to assist the mother city. A village with stronger fortifications than the mother city—for example Djebel Zid to the north of the *municipium* Segermes—could become a direct threat. The superior power of the magistrates of the recognized cities—whether the *praefecti iure dicundo* in the territory or *duumviri* in town—had the effect of limiting the influence of village leaders. Even if village elders arbitrated disputes, it was all too tempting for the losing party to appeal a negative judgment to the mother city's magistrates. Not surprisingly, most rural communities in Africa kept a low profile. Simply erecting a collective inscription was a conspicuous political act attempted only by the most powerful of them and then with the express permission of their mother cities.²⁹

Despite their subordinate position, the *pagi*, *vici*, and *castella* of Africa

were a privileged minority. Most of the “rural agglomerations” or “hamlets” found by archaeologists in North Africa would not have been considered communities at all, not meriting even the relatively humble designation of *vicus* or *castellum*. If forced to produce a term for such places, Latin speakers might have used the all-purpose *locus* or a plural form of the words for “hut” (the *casae* and *mapalia* discussed in [part 1](#)). Such places had no legal status and were often incorporated into estates. Their residents may have sometimes possessed the citizenship of their mother cities, particularly in the peregrine *civitates*, but were rarely able to exercise it.³⁰ These places could, however, become *castella* or *vici*: we will see below a private landlord founding a *vicus* on his estate and the transformation of the central places of imperial *saltus* into *castella*. Now let us examine the reasons why mother cities, landlords, and eventually the imperial government sometimes found it in their interest to create such rural communities.

RURAL COMMUNITIES OF THE HIGH EMPIRE

The Pagi

The *pagi* of imperial North Africa have been notoriously difficult to define. Some were clearly not communities in any sense of the word, but rather large administrative districts under Roman officials, possibly a Punic inheritance.³¹ Other *pagi* seem to have possessed the structures of self-governing communities. Their residents (*pagani*) collectively built shrines to their gods.³² Magistrates of *pagi* financed public works in honor of their new office (*summa honoraria*), as happened in the republics.³³ By the second century C.E., some *pagi* had their own public land, much like the territories of *res publicae*.³⁴ Nevertheless, two things distinguished the *pagi* from indigenous villages: they were either restricted in membership to the descendants of Roman veterans or were closely integrated into the administrative system of their mother cities. At least in the second century, a *pagus* is better understood as a Roman colony’s administrative arm in its hinterland or a Roman colony in miniature than as a self-governing village.

Two inscriptions from the Bagradas region show that some *pagi* were constituted with the descendants of Roman colonists, rather than a cross-section of the rural population.³⁵ In a dedication to Septimius Severus, the Roman citizens of the Pagus Fortunalis, near the colony Uthina, reflected on how their ancestors had received land by imperial grant near the indigenous *civitas* Suturnuca: “The *pagani* of the Pagus Fortunalis of the Veterans, Roman citizens, whose parents had received land at Suturnuca as a benefaction from the Divine Augustus, made [this dedication] with public money.”³⁶ The nearby “*pagani pagi Mercurialis veteranorum Medelitanorum*,” who made a dedication to the empress Julia Domna, appear

to have enjoyed a similar symbiotic relationship with Medeli.³⁷ Well into the third century, these veteran *pagi* kept a separate identity from the native inhabitants of places like Suturnuca.

The *pagi* in Carthage's territory were not so clearly populated by veterans but still had magistrates who belonged to the ruling hierarchy of Carthage rather than to any rural community. The *pagus* of Thibaris is the clearest example. Thibaris appears to have originally been part of a large estate (*saltus*) with a settlement of Marian colonists.³⁸ By the Severan period, the *pagus Thibaritanus* was making dedications to the imperial family.³⁹ In another inscription, roughly dated to the second or third century, the *pagus* honored its patron and *magister pagi*, Cornelius Maximus, who was a decurion of Carthage.⁴⁰ In addition to being *magister pagi*, Cornelius Maximus had served twice as *praefectus iure dicundo*, which (as discussed above) was the magistrate appointed by a city to carry out the functions of an aedile in a colony's territory. He belonged to the Arnensis tribe of Carthage. He was not a man of the village.

The debate over *pagi* concerns their nature in other regions of Africa, such as the territories of the important colonies Cirta and Sicca. Were these *pagi* similar to those in the Carthage region—that is, collectives of Roman citizens with *magistri* who belonged to the ruling elite of the mother colony—or were they villages whose leaders were chosen by both citizens and noncitizens?⁴¹ The evidence is most abundant for the four *pagi* that are known to have existed in the territory of Cirta: Thibilis, Sigus, Celtianum, and Phua. All known magistrates of these *pagi* were Roman citizens whose names implied descent from veteran colonists of Cirta's territory.⁴² Inscriptions relevant to the *cursus honorum* of these *magistri pagi* survive only for Sigus and Phua. A fragmentary verse inscription at Sigus commemorates a man who had been “decorated” at Cirta and was a *magister pagi*.⁴³ Similarly, Tiberius Claudius, whose epitaph was found at Phua, had been *praefectus iure dicundo* in Milev and Rusicade (both colonies of the Cirtan confederation) as well as *magister pagi*.⁴⁴ He—like all known *magistri pagi* in the territory of Cirta—belonged to the tribe of Quirina, associated with citizens of Cirta (comparable to Arnensis for Carthage). These men may have been born in the *pagi* (and indeed Thibilis was the birthplace of senators), but, politically, they were part of the ruling elite of the mother city.

Although the evidence is thin, there is reason to believe that most North African *pagi* in the second century were either restricted in membership to descendants of Roman colonists and / or firmly controlled by the *ordo* of the city-state to which they were attributed. In both respects, they are better regarded as tools of Roman imperialism rather than any sort of self-governing village.

The Vici on the Great Estates

The residents of the great estates of second-century North Africa escaped the control of the city-states more successfully than the *pagi*, at the price of being subject to landlords instead. Although earlier historians like T. R. S. Broughton considered the large estates a hindrance to the natural development of communities along Roman models, recent historians have emphasized the “quasi-urban” character of some *vici* on these estates, a quality promoted by the landlords themselves.⁴⁵ Unlike most *pagi* or *castella*, the great estates (*saltus*) of Africa were not attributed to any city; they were independent entities with their own territories.⁴⁶ They often contained villages. A treatise on surveying noted the following as a peculiarity of Africa: “Private *saltus* have territories no smaller than republics; in fact many *saltus* are far greater in territory. For they have in private *saltus* not a small population of plebeians and *vici* around the *villa* in the manner of municipalities.”⁴⁷

By the second century, some of these *vici* within the large estates were collectively building temples, sending petitions to emperors, and recording these acts through the agency of their own magistrates. In an inscription of 164–65 C.E. from Tunisia, the “people of the estate” (*plebs fundi*) built an enclosure to Ceres with their own money, and a man with a Roman-sounding name, Publius Statilius Silvanus, acted as their magistrate.⁴⁸ In an early third-century inscription, the landholders (*possessores*) of another estate (*fundus*) in Tunisia made a dedication to Mercury under their *magistri* L. Ge(minius) Rogatus and Iul(ius) Gem(inianus), with the assistance of Ta(nno)n(ius) Felix Primianus.⁴⁹ In the third century, the tenants of a large imperial estate, the *fundus* Turris Rutunda, repaired a temple to the imperial cult “with their own money” under the magistrate Lucius Cornelius.⁵⁰ This collective construction of temples was significant in three respects. First, it showed that estates could ask their inhabitants for *munera* (although only informally, since the temples were financed “with their own money,” not “with public money”). Second, the temples served as one of the few public places in the countryside. Crowds gathered there, whether for religious purposes or markets.⁵¹ And third, these inscriptions provide some of the clearest evidence for the existence of magistrates on estates.

In petitions to the emperor, the estate *magistri* represented the interests of the peasants, not the landlords or the estate managers. In two cases, when the tenants of large imperial estates had appealed to the emperor for confirmation of their special Mancian tenure,⁵² *magistri* received and posted the rescripts. At Mappalia Siga, in 116–17 C.E., an imperial law on the tenants’ tenure rights was recorded by the *magister* Lurius Victor, son of Odilo, and the *defensor* Flavius Geminus.⁵³ The *defensor* here was probably a *defensor gentis*, a man (not necessarily a resident) chosen to represent the community in legal disputes, the community in this case perhaps being the tribe in whose territory the estate was located.⁵⁴ In 182 C.E., the tenants of the *Saltus Burunitanus* complained to Commodus about their rent collectors (*conductores*), who had summoned soldiers to beat the tenants into performing illegal labor demands.

The emperor's favorable answer was inscribed and erected on the estate by "C. Iulio P(el)ope Salaputi mag(istro)."⁵⁵ These *magistri* appear to have been leading the opposition to the *conductores* as community representatives rather than acting as agents for the rent collectors. In both cases, they were the sons of men with noncitizen names.

Yet the violence suffered by the *coloni* of Burunitanus at the bidding of their *conductores* should make us hesitate to argue that the inhabitants of most large North African estates enjoyed anything resembling self-government. With the possible exception of tenants like those of Mappalia Siga, which may have belonged both to a *saltus* and to a tribal *gens*, most peasants needed the support of their landlord before engaging in any collective behavior. It was up to the landlord to allow them to build temples. Even when tenants financed the buildings themselves, the landlord (or his agent) had to agree to alienate the land near the temple.⁵⁶

The formation of an official *vicus* on an estate seems to have also been the act of a landlord. A record of the foundation of the *vicus Phosphorianus* in Numidia is our best example:

Phosphorus built from the ground up a temple for the eternal Augusta Caelestis, complete with a vestibule and columns and benches, and he dedicated it. He also made the *vicus* that lies below the temple, 350 *dupondii* in length, together with all the buildings, columns, porticoes, and four arches, and he established periodic markets there. This *vicus* is called by his own name.⁵⁷

The landlord Phosphorus built a temple to the popular North African goddess Caelestis, founded a *vicus* named after himself next to it, and established periodic markets (*nundinae*). He carefully recorded the area of the *vicus* (ca. 4 ha), possibly because he had alienated it from his direct control.⁵⁸ For the markets, he would have needed to obtain permission from the Senate or emperor, as did other landlords in Africa.⁵⁹ Most other *vici* in North Africa were, like the *vicus Phosphorianus*, named after private persons or emperors who were presumably their founders.⁶⁰

The motivations of these *vici*-founding landlords can only be guessed at. They may have wanted to be "city-founders in miniature,"⁶¹ or to draw their tenants away from membership in any community outside of the estate.⁶² Whatever their motives in founding the *vici*, the landlords (and their descendants) did not renounce their influence over the villagers by doing so. Under Trajan, the residents (*vicani*) of the *vicus Annaeus*, near Semta in Africa Proconsularis, set up a statue to Quintus Geminius Annaeus, who possessed the same name (Annaeus) as the family the *vicus* was named after. The act was dated to the magistracy of a certain Decimus Annaeus Advena, who also shared the family name and whose Carthaginian origin has been presumed from his enrollment in the Arnensis tribe.⁶³ In this relatively early example of a nonmilitary *vicus*, the family of the founder appears to have continued to influence the selection of magistrates.

The magistrates and dedications by the *pagi* and *vici* show that some rural groups in the second century were capable of conspicuous collective behavior but depended on the goodwill of their municipal *ordo* or landlord to exercise it. And these were the privileged portion of the rural population, Roman citizens in the case of most *pagi* and the tenants of large, extraterritorial estates in the case of the *saltus*. The vast majority of rural communities, not to mention the informal agglomerations of *casae* and *mapalia*, set up no inscriptions in the second century. After all, they could barely afford fineware.

Village Republics of the Third Century

This near epigraphic silence of the countryside began to change under the first African emperor, Septimius Severus. During the Severan period (193–235), there was a virtual explosion of communal activity among the more important rural communities of North Africa. The inhabitants of the large estates and *pagi* continued to build temples and make dedications to emperors under their magistrates. Many of the best examples of collective behavior by *pagi* or large estates in fact date to the Severan period.⁶⁴ The real novelty of the Severan period was, however, the inscriptions put up by *castella* and other submunicipal *res publicae*.

In the territory of Cirta, *castella* first began calling themselves *res publicae* in 197 (the year Septimius Severus defeated Albinus Caesar and his senatorial allies and possibly the year when Numidia became a separate province).⁶⁵ The *castellum* Sigus set up dedications to Septimius's son and wife in 197, designating itself as "respublic(a) Siguitanorum."⁶⁶ In the same year, the *castella* Arsacalitanum and Tiddis called themselves *res publicae* for the first time when setting up inscriptions to the imperial family.⁶⁷ The other villages of the area soon followed suit—the *res publica* Sila in 199 dedicated to Julia; in 205, the *res publicae* Phua and Celtianis similarly honored Julia; and ca. 211–17 Uzelis dedicated under Cara-calla.⁶⁸ The tendency of the "res publica" inscriptions to coincide with a strong enthusiasm for the imperial family is probably not coincidental; these communities may have had reason to feel grateful. Although they had not become *municipia* (the inscriptions designated them as *castella*, sometimes as *res publicae castelli*),⁶⁹ their new status as republics, along with references to "public money," suggests that they were now fiscally incorporated, capable of financing public works themselves and possibly collecting their own taxes.⁷⁰

As for their leadership, the prefects appointed by Cirta and the magistrates of the *pagi* are heard of less, replaced by magistrates from the *castella* or *res publicae* themselves. *Magistri Thibilitanorum* are known from 210 to 260,⁷¹ at which point Thibilis (which was never a *castellum*) became a *municipium*. The *res publica* Dothenses had magistrates attested for 242, 244, 245, 246, and 273 C.E.⁷² In the holy cave Ez Zemmas near the Castellum Phua, many *magistri Kastelli Phuensium* as well as *magistri pagi* set up dedications,

roughly dated to the third century.⁷³ Unlike the *magistri* of the *pagi*—who held office in the mother city as well as in the *pagi*—none of the *magistri castelli* are known to have had a *cursus honorum* outside the borders of their villages.⁷⁴

Castella also began to set up inscriptions in the area around Sicca Veneria (“Nova Cirta”) in Tunisia during Caracalla’s sole reign (211–17). In the territory of Sicca, the *castella* at Sidi Merzug and Ucubi made dedications to the imperial family.⁷⁵ This was the first collective act of Sidi Merzug. Ucubi (which was an old settlement, known to the geographer Ptolemy) had already been making dedications to emperors through its elders (*seniores*) in the second century (though with close oversight from Sicca).⁷⁶ What difference the acquisition of the title *castellum* made is unclear. Another *castellum* with the modern place-name Nibber, probably also in Sicca’s territory, first set up collective inscriptions honoring Caracalla and his mother.⁷⁷ Although the *castella* in the territory of Sicca did not call themselves “republics” and still acted (in the case of Ucubi) with the participation of decurions from their mother city, they were nevertheless becoming more publicly assertive.

In Mauretania Caesariensis, twelve *castella* and one *pagus* in the region of Sitifis set up boundary stones, built fortification walls, and made dedications to the emperors between 190 and 243. In 213, the central place of an imperial *saltus* (Caput Saltus Horreorum) built a *castellum*, which its inhabitants named Aurelia-nense Antoninianense after the emperor, mimicking the adoption of imperial *cognomina* by cities.⁷⁸ Between 227 and 243, twelve *castella* in the area, with the permission of the imperial procurators, erected walls. They appear to have sought this privilege: most of the inscriptions refer to the “indulgence” of the emperor, and in the case of Sertei (which may have been a *pagus*), two local magistrates, the decurion (des[urione]) Helvius Crescens and the pr(inceps) Claudius Kapito, had petitioned for the walls.⁷⁹ The imperial indulgence may have extended to fiscal autonomy: one inscription ca. 232 C.E. referred to a surveyer fixing the boundaries of fields for the inhabitants of the Castellum Turrensium.⁸⁰ At the same time, the boundary between the *castellum Gurolese* and Medianum Matidianum Alexandrianum Tizirlensem was restored.⁸¹ The latter community, like the Caput Saltus Horreorum, had adopted an imperial cognomen (Alexandrianum), suggesting that Severus Alexander had granted it the privilege of self-government.

In addition to these *castella*, formerly subordinate *civitates* and even some tribes became republics in the early third century. Northern Tunisia, the most fertile and “Romanized” part of Africa, had the most submunicipal republics,⁸² but Numidia also had its share. By 199 C.E. the tribe (*gens*) Suburbures was calling itself a “res publica gentis Suburburum” and soon afterward repaired its own public road.⁸³ At about the same time, the governor of the new province of Numidia, approved the creation of a *res publica* Lamiggiga in a letter that the republic promptly displayed in an inscription.⁸⁴

Under Septimius or Caracalla, Lamasba became the “*res publica Novensis Lamasba Antoniniana*.”⁸⁵ Its adoption of the imperial *cognomen* suggests that as with the *castella* near Sitifis, the emperor had granted its new status. These inscriptions give the impression that a wide number of rural communities that had previously been administered by municipalities or imperial officials were being given full or partial autonomy.

A fortunate minority of these rural communities managed to obtain full municipal status in the third century. With a few exceptions, the places granted municipal status in the first two centuries C.E. had been either new Roman colonies or old Punic or Numidian *oppida* who had adopted Roman constitutions, sometimes in conjunction with the settlement of Roman colonists in their territories.⁸⁶ The Severan emperors differed from their predecessors in promoting thoroughly insignificant places. The *pagi* and peregrine *civitates* of old Punic Africa were by far the greatest beneficiaries. At least five of the “double communities” of *pagi* and peregrine *civitates*, which had formerly been attached to the territory of Carthage, became *municipia* under Septimius Severus,⁸⁷ as did four other small *civitates* in the fertile valley of the Bagradas River.⁸⁸ Between Septimius’s death and Constantine, another two *pagi* and thirteen peregrine *civitates* became *municipia*.⁸⁹ Most of these places had begun to put up inscriptions only under Antonius Pius.⁹⁰ In Mauretania Caesariensis, two military forts,⁹¹ two *pagi*,⁹² one *castellum*,⁹³ and three native communities of uncertain status became *municipia* between 211 and 305.⁹⁴ In Numidia, Lamasba, which had been a *res publica Antoniniana* under Septimius or Caracalla, was turned into a full *municipium* in the course of the third century. The *pagus* Thibilis, in the territory of Cirta, was a *res publica* by 247 and a *municipium* by 268–75. Some of the tribal peoples referred to by Pliny—the Nattabutes of Numidia for example—became *municipia* between the early third and fourth centuries.⁹⁵

It is worth inquiring about the reasons behind this virtual explosion of village inscriptions during the first half of the third century and the promotion of some of them to full city status. The goodwill of governors and other imperial officials was closely involved. In the nearest thing to a surviving record of the creation of a submunicipal *res publica*, the governor of Numidia appears to have been helping the village achieve self-government. Anicius Faustus, the military legate of Numidia from 196 to 201 C.E. (and probably its first governor) appears to have attached part of an imperial letter (*epistula sacra*) to the effect that Lamiggiga may have magistrates and an *ordo* of decurions. This was in some way connected to the “felicity of the age” (*saeculi felicitate*).⁹⁶ Other Numidian governors were involved in extending market rights to *castella*. Under Alexander Severus, a governor of Numidia allowed the Castellum Tiddis to establish *nundinae* in addition to a permanent market in its *forum*.⁹⁷ Shortly afterward, another governor approved *nundinae* at a neighboring village, the *castellum Mastarense*.⁹⁸ These imperial officials

may have found it to their fiscal advantage to create new village markets, where imperial taxes could be collected (and supplies requisitioned), and to administer communities like Lamiggiga directly, rather than indirectly through another city's magistrates.

On the imperial estates, the imperial *procuratores* were the ones defending the interests of the tenants and communicating their petitions to the emperors. Already under Hadrian, the *coloni* depended on the procurators to present their petitions to the emperor.⁹⁹ On one large estate, an imperial procurator under Septimius Severus built an altar to the divine (i.e., imperial) law and placed on it a copy of Hadrian's regulations for Mancian tenure, in response to the tenants' petition.¹⁰⁰ The *castella* in the territory of Sitifis erected inscriptions and fortifications with the permission of their imperial procurators. In the earliest of these inscriptions (190 C.E.), the inhabitants (*coloni*) of the Castellum Thib. made a dedication to the emperor Commodus "through the agency of the patron of the settlements, the procurator of the emperor,"¹⁰¹ which suggests (if the reconstruction is correct) that imperial procurators could act as patrons of the settlements of the region. P.-A. Février has argued that the appearance of semiautonomous *castella* in the region of Sitifis was in fact an imperial initiative, executed by the governors of Mauretania and the imperial procurators.¹⁰² The imperial government of the late second and early third centuries was finding it in its interest to extend self-government to villages.

In an older historiographical tradition, it might be argued that the African Severan dynasty was granting special favors to Africans. However, the rural communities of Africa were by no means unique in engaging in a burst of collective epigraphic activity in the first half of the third century. The inscriptions surviving from the *kōmai* of Thrace have a similar chronology: imperial officials delineated the territories of villages, villagers sent petitions to emperors, and village magistrates made dedications to their gods in the first half of the third century.¹⁰³ The villagers of Syria also acquired their own magistrates in the third century, and some of the villages achieved the semiautonomous status of *metrokomia*, which appears to have been similar to the *castellum respublica* of Africa.¹⁰⁴ In Anatolia, the chronology of petitions by villagers to emperors parallels that of North Africa and Thrace, peaking under the Severans.¹⁰⁵ African rural communities were not getting special treatment; they were sharing in a trend that crossed regional boundaries.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the imperial administration was promoting greater autonomy for villages, perhaps as a way to bypass the local municipal councils and landlords and rule the subjects of the empire in a more direct fashion. The Severan emperors may not have had a formal policy of extending village self-government, for, given the petition and response mode of Roman government, something as coherent as "policy" is not to be expected.¹⁰⁶ It is more that the political climate of the first half of the third century brought a friendlier reception of petitions and embassies from humble

places than before. A touch of idealism as well as self-interest may have been involved. From their language, these North African emperors and the men they appointed seem to have internalized the Romans' own rhetoric—that Roman rule promoted civic life and the rule of law and that provincials who asked for protection at the altar of the imperial law should get it.¹⁰⁷

The end result of these trends was the appearance of many tiny republics in Africa, some with formal municipal status, most without. Villages and large estates were getting walls, territories, priests, and magistrates. When their inhabitants' legal rights were violated, they were sending successful petitions to imperial officials and emperors. North Africa was on its way to becoming, once again, a region of many small collectives with not much to differentiate them. But then a crisis occurred, which threw the empire into fifty years of civil war and military defeat. When control was regained in the early fourth century, farmers and villagers found that the political climate had changed, and not in their favor.

THE SILENCING OF THE VILLAGES IN THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

Although the epigraphic evidence is strongest between 195 and 243, there are signs that quasi-municipal activity of villages and estates persisted through the political chaos of the late third century. Emperors continued to promote North African rural communities to municipal status until Constantine.¹⁰⁸ Submunicipal republics were still recording their public works in the 260s to 290s.¹⁰⁹ Under Diocletian and Maximian, the magistrates of estates made dedications under the old formulae,¹¹⁰ as did the *seniores* and magistrates of *castella*.¹¹¹ The public status of villages was even making its way into prescriptive legal texts: a North African jurist of the late third century noted that wills could be drawn up in a *vicus* or *castellum*, read aloud in the presence of “honest” men (who may have been the equivalent of the *seniores*), and stored in the local archives.¹¹² In contrast, between the reigns of Constantine the Great (312–37) and Justinian (527–65), Roman emperors granted municipal status to few, if any, North African rural communities. Villages and large estates stopped honoring gods or emperors through their magistrates or recording any constructions. Although the general decline in the number of inscriptions may be partly to blame, the *municipia* and *coloniae* maintained their epigraphic tradition much better than the submunicipal communities.¹¹³ The literary and Christian texts from late Roman North Africa, which are numerous, rarely mention anything like a village magistrate. Landlords and their agents fulfill their functions.

Does this absence of evidence mean, as Rostovtzeff once concluded, that the “germs of self-government” in the villages disappeared? And if so, what

caused this to happen, since the old arguments of economic crisis no longer work? As we will see, municipal promotions did in fact cease, but local community structures did not disappear. They were merely ignored.

The Cessation of Municipal Promotion

The epigraphic evidence for municipal promotion after Diocletian is ambiguous at best. No new cities are known to have been founded until Justinian's reconquest of Africa.¹¹⁴ Some places appear as *civitates* only in late Roman sources and therefore may have become independent only under the late empire. The early fifth-century *Miracles of Saint Stephen*, for example, referred to a "Pisitana civitas," otherwise unattested except as a bishopric. In the late fifth century, Victor of Vita mentioned five otherwise unknown *civitates*, and church councils and saints' lives contribute several more.¹¹⁵ However, even if the term *civitas* in these sources indicates full municipal status (and it might by the fourth century), these communities could have obtained it under the Principate, and we merely lack the inscriptions to prove it.

The most convincing candidates for fourth-century municipal promotion are two Numidian towns, Leges Maiores and Thullium.¹¹⁶ An inscription of 276 C.E. referred to the "coloni loci Legum Maiorum," implying that Leges was still a village (*locus*).¹¹⁷ By 375 C.E. this place was a *res publica* with decurions, priests of the imperial cult, and a *curia*.¹¹⁸ Although a community did not need municipal status to call itself a *res publica* and appoint decurions (as we have seen with the *castella* in the territory of Cirta), a correspondent of Augustine mentioned an "urbs" Leges in Numidia and would not have used this term for an estate or *castellum*.¹¹⁹ Leges may have been granted city status between 276 and 375.

The second example, Thullium, also in Numidia, was a submunicipal *civitas* with a *curator* under Diocletian.¹²⁰ At the end of the fourth century Augustine called it a *municipium*, whose chief magistrate (*duumvir*) was a simple rustic.¹²¹ So Thullium had been transformed from a peregrine *civitas* to a *municipium*, albeit a humble one, between Diocletian's reign and Honorius's. Its bishop, at the Council of Carthage in 525, was still sufficiently proud of his community's municipal status to sign his name as "Marianus episcopus municipii Tulliensis," the only bishop to indicate the secular status of his see.¹²² Yet even if Leges and Thullium did become *municipia* in the fourth century, the numbers bear little comparison to third-century municipal promotions.

As the fourth century progressed, not only do we fail to hear of newly promoted *municipia*, but there are signs that the peregrine *civitates* of the second and third centuries were actually demoted to the rank of villages. The magistrates (*sufetes*) associated with Punic towns disappear from inscriptions after the third century. Certainly part of the reason for this is the grant of

universal Roman citizenship in 212, which gradually made the old distinctions between peregrine, Latin, and Roman rights meaningless. The authors of inscriptions became less careful about the precise terminology of cities, sometimes using *civitas* for what in an earlier age would have been termed a *colonia* or *municipium* (although North Africans, more than most provincials, remained conservative in their civic terminology).¹²³ But this standardization of citizen and civic terminology did not work to the advantage of the former peregrine cities—making them the equal of *municipia*—but rather the opposite.

A revealing example is Biracsaccar. Biracsaccar was a small community only eight kilometers from the *municipium* and later *colonia* Bisica in the region of Carthage. Under Antoninus Pius (138–61 C.E.), it had been a *civitas* with a *sufes* and *magister*.¹²⁴ By 374 C.E., it was called the “*res publica castelli Biracsaccarensium*,” on the lines of the *res publicae castelli* in the territory of Cirta. It nevertheless had a *curator*, *ordo*, and pertaining territory, like an independent republic.¹²⁵ This transformation from *civitas* to *castellum* may be partly attributed to a need to conform to late imperial administrative terminology. The earlier application of the title *civitas* to any community was becoming incorrect.¹²⁶ In an age when colonies were called *civitates*, more care had to be taken to distinguish real “cities” from places occupied by the common sort of men.

Two other communities, Vazari in Africa Proconsularis and Tigisi in Numidia, seem to have experienced a similar linguistic demotion. Vazari was a native *civitas* with decurions under the high empire.¹²⁷ In late antiquity, Vazari had a long line of attested bishops, beginning in 397. In this year, the bishop Epigonius of the wealthy *colonia* Bulla Regia accused the bishop Julianus of Vazari of stealing one of his clerics. Epigonius had acquired a poor boy from Vazari and trained him to be a reader for one of the rural parishes of his see (readers were in great demand at this time). Julianus of Vazari subsequently claimed the man as his citizen and ordained him deacon. Epigonius’s diatribe against his fellow bishop is important for the way he refers to Vazari:

I say that Julianus (who is ungrateful for the favors of God bestowed on him through my Smallness) has shown himself so disrespectful and audacious that he has snatched the man who was baptized by me when he was a poverty-stricken boy, a man commended to me by Julianus. Out of contempt for my Humility, that same Julianus has snatched him, claiming that I usurped him improperly as if he were a proper citizen of his *locus* Vazari. And he went and ordained him deacon!¹²⁸

The phrase “*quasi proprium civem sui loci Vazaritani*” (“as if he were a proper citizen of his *locus* Vazari”) would not have been used for a recognized city. The “quasi” casts doubt on the whole idea of being a citizen of a place like Vazari, and “*locus*” with an ethnic was the usual way to refer to villages.¹²⁹ Epigonius won his case.

The third example, Tigisi in Numidia, had been part of Cirta's large territory. Between 293 and 305, the *ordo Tigisitanus* erected a dedication to Constantius with their own funds (this use of private rather than public funds suggests submunicipal status).¹³⁰ At about the same time, during the Diocletianic persecution of 303, the bishop of Tigisi was tortured by a *curator* and *ordo* (though not necessarily of Tigisi).¹³¹ Tigisi would thus seem to have been a self-governing *civitas* by the early fourth century. Yet at the 411 Council of Carthage, the bishop of Sigus, the neighboring *castellum*, referred to Tigisi as the “locus Tigisitanus.”¹³² In a Numidian saint's life, Tigisi was a mere *vicus*.¹³³ *Locus* or *vicus* was what Tigisi's neighbors called it under the late empire. Tigisi's own epigraphic record suffered a hiatus from 305 (*CIL* 8.18767) until the Byzantine period, when the community rose to some prominence. Procopius noted that Tigisi had been unfortified under the Vandals but was reconstructed as a fortified *polis* by Justinian.¹³⁴ Inscriptions show that Justinian's fortifications at Zabi and Cululis were accompanied by the foundation of “new” cities; Tigisi may have also been granted full *polis* status.¹³⁵ But in the fourth and fifth centuries, Tigisi, like Biracsaccar and Vazari, was something less than a city.

The present state of the evidence would suggest then that city promotion in North Africa really did cease in the fourth and fifth centuries. When the status of self-governing peregrine *civitas* had ceased to exist, those places not so fortunate to become *municipia* in the second and third centuries found emperors disinclined to promote them in the fourth. They were relabeled *vici*, *castella*, or mere *loca*. Some of them, like Biracsaccar, retained (or regained as an imperial favor) a sort of self-government—an *ordo* and “pertaining lands.” But most of them would have had difficulty claiming the judicial and fiscal privileges of a city. Even the real cities were having a difficult enough time retaining their privileges in the fourth century.

The Disappearance of the Self-Governing Village

With old and well-attested communities like Tigisi and Vazari not attaining or even retaining city status in the fourth and fifth centuries, the scarcity of evidence for self-governing *castella* and estates is not surprising. The only late Roman *castellum* that definitely had its own magistrates was the *res publica castelli Biracsaccarensium*, and this old peregrine *civitas* was not a typical *castellum*. At Sidi Merzug, where *seniores Kastelli* had erected inscriptions in the second and third centuries, a fragmentary dedication dated ca. 350–61 C.E. ended with the words “et curator . . . ordinis.”¹³⁶ Another inscription from the same place may record the appointment of a P. Cornelius as (*cu*)*rator*.¹³⁷ Although the editors believed both inscriptions to refer to Sicca's curator (since decurions of Sicca had controlled the place in the second century), it is more likely that this old *castellum*, like Biracsaccar, had its own *curator* and *ordo*.¹³⁸

Other than these two examples, few rural communities in late Roman Africa are known to have possessed magistrates or to have set up inscriptions. The *pagi* disappear completely after the mid-third century (probably because of the expansion of Roman citizenship). The late Roman saints' lives, letters, and histories that discuss *castella* and *loca* do not mention any magistrates. The imperial edicts regarding North Africa order municipal decurions, landlords, and imperial soldiers, not village leaders, to enforce the law at the local level. Only the African church councils refer to *seniores locorum*, and, as will be discussed below, they do so with hesitation.

The *castella* in the regions of Cirta and Sitifis and most of the small *civitates* in Proconsularis, which had been so vocal in the early third century, stopped erecting inscriptions in the fourth, except for the fortunate few that had become *municipia*. In the most recent volumes of *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* (ILAlg. II), we can see the divergent epigraphic history of the *municipia* and the submunicipal communities. Thibilis, a *municipium* after 268, continued to set up inscriptions in the fourth century, as did the *municipium* Nattabutun.¹³⁹ In contrast, the *castellum* Sigus, with ca. 300 published Latin inscriptions and a late Roman bishop, has no collective inscriptions after 252 C.E. Sila, a submunicipal *res publica* under the Severans with a thriving Christian community later on, left behind no collective inscriptions between the Severan period and the end of the sixth century. In Africa Proconsularis, the same pattern emerges. With a few exceptions, such as Sidi Merzug and Biracsaccar, the submunicipal communities stopped erecting collective dedications, while the cities continued to do so.¹⁴⁰ The magistrates of the large estates likewise disappear from the late Roman epigraphic record. Dedications are made by the landlord's agents rather than by the tenants and their magistrates.¹⁴¹ The one exception is a Mancian tenant from Bou Ftis in Proconsularis, who restored something with his own funds but was careful to add "without prejudice to the landlord's rights."¹⁴² The rural communities of Africa returned to an epigraphic silence as deep as that of the early Principate.

Despite the absence of inscriptions, two quite different sources suggest that magistrates of estates continued to witness contracts and oversee peacekeeping. In a probably Donatist saint's life, the *Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda*, two magistrates were responsible for arresting accused Christians on the large estate (*possessio*) of Cephaltana.¹⁴³ As with most North African saints' lives, this one tells us little about the actual martyrdom (ca. 303 C.E.), but the administrative structures within it may reflect the author's own time, perhaps the early fifth century. The events are set in the fertile heart of old Punic Africa, in the territory of either the colony Thuburbo Maius or the *municipium* Thuburbo Minus (the life refers to the *civitas* Turbitana). The proconsul of Africa under Maximian had gone to the *possessio* Cephaltana to force the Christians to sacrifice. After spending the night there,

he summoned a certain decurion to bring forth the magistrates Modaticius and Archadius. When they arrived, they were ordered by the proconsul to make known all the Christians. They immediately sent private officials to exhibit the Christians publicly.¹⁴⁴

The decurion here probably belonged to the city of Thuburbo, where the accused Christians were taken for trial (*Passio* 5, ed. Maier, p. 104). The *magistratus* Modaticius and Archadius knew the locals and so presumably belonged to the estate, the equivalent of the *magistri* of *saltus* and *fundi* in second- and third-century inscriptions. The *privati officiales* are something of a mystery. Public officials were also present in the life: the proconsul later ordered one of them to exhibit the girl martyrs.¹⁴⁵ The private officials seem to answer to the magistrates of the estate, while the public officials answer to the proconsul (although this usage is unparalleled in other sources).¹⁴⁶ This large estate of the late empire would seem to have had magistrates with their own *officium*, much like a city. The author of the life did not intend to glorify Cephalitana by giving it some of the attributes of a town; rather the opposite. According to him, the magistrates (carefully named), clergy, and people of the estate all sacrificed to the idols and betrayed the saints. The only faithful Christians from Cephalitana were the martyrs themselves. It is just possible that the author of this life paid special attention to the estate magistrates in order to vilify those suppressing his own Donatist sect. Cephalitana in the early fifth century was a divided bishopric, with both a Donatist and a Catholic bishop,¹⁴⁷ and as will be discussed below, the leaders of rural communities (*seniores locorum*) had been ordered to expel the Donatists.

Magistrates of estates also appear in the Vandal-period Albertini Tablets, a corpus of documents recording land sales by the tenants of the private estate *fundus* Tuletianos on the arid border of Tunisia and Algeria. These wooden tablets are justly famous for demonstrating that the peculiar Mancian land tenure known from North African inscriptions of the late second century persisted until the late fifth.¹⁴⁸ What has been less studied is how the *fundus* Tuletianos served as a quasi-municipal community for its inhabitants. The physical appearance of this estate appears to have resembled that of the wadis in the Libyan Valleys survey. The tenants of the *fundus* Tuletianos owned small, irrigated plots of land dispersed along the banks of the wadis (referred to as *torrens* and *riu*), comparable to the plots defined by terrace walls in the Libyan Valleys survey.¹⁴⁹ Their dwellings may have also been dispersed but more likely were agglomerated in several small hamlets (as in late antique Libya). One place (*locus*) within the estate was called “Old Homes” (Domos Beteres), and another, “Fort” (Centenariu{m})—perhaps the equivalent of the Libyan *gsur*.¹⁵⁰ A transaction was witnessed at Tuletianos “in bure”—the Libyo-Punic *bure* being an element in African city names and perhaps indicating here the central place of the estate.¹⁵¹ Whether or not their settlement pattern reflected their membership in one community, the citizenship of the tenants of Tuletianos was defined by the estate. In tablet 2,

two citizens (*cives*) of Capparitanensis (another estate) sold a slave boy to a citizen (*civis*) of Tuletianos, Felix Fortuni. This use of the term *civis* for membership in a *fundus* is, as far as I know, otherwise unattested, but then the Albertini Tablets are the only surviving documents produced by peasants in the late Roman West.¹⁵²

It is in the context of an estate acting as a community, becoming a city for its tenant “citizens,” that the magistrates of Tuletianos should be understood. In five of the tablets (5, 6, 9, 10, 25), *magistri* notarized and witnessed the sale of plots within the estate. Their dual function (which they shared with the estate’s priest and scribes) was to sign for illiterate tenants and to validate the authenticity of the documents. These *magistri* seem to have served annual terms, Lucianus in 493, Quadratianus in 494.¹⁵³ Both of them were literate in the popular Latin of the tablets, as were the minority of tenants who signed for themselves. They were not scribes sent from the outside. Quadratianus belonged to one of the most important tenant families. His illiterate father, Ianuarius, possessed fields dispersed through the estate (which he was not selling) and signed as the first witness to four of the transactions.¹⁵⁴ The estate’s landlord, Flavius Geminius Catullinus, mattered little to the daily life of this community. He did not directly participate in any of the transactions and may never have set foot on his estate. Yet the buyer of most of the plots of land, Geminius Felix, apparently a newcomer to the area, shared the landlord’s *nomen*. Anything more than this is supposition—he may have been the landlord’s freedman or *conductor*, buying up fields so that part of the estate might be directly farmed.¹⁵⁵ Whatever the precise circumstances, the “citizens” of this isolated and arid estate had their own magistrates to ensure that their olive trees were sold in proper Roman form—and at the proper price¹⁵⁶—even under Vandal kings.

The Albertini Tablets, the *Passion of Maxima*, and the inscriptions from Biracsaccar and Sidi Merzug indicate that rural magistrates continued to exist in fourth- and fifth-century Africa. They just had difficulty getting their acts recorded in conspicuously public texts like inscriptions or in prescriptive laws. The one exception—the transcripts of the North African church councils—helps prove the rule. In 403, when the Catholic bishops wanted to debate their Donatist rivals, they asked *seniores locorum* as well as municipal magistrates to force the Donatists to meet with them. Aurelius, the venerable bishop of Carthage, proposed the following: “Each of our [bishops] ought to convene the leaders of the Donatists in his own city through his own men, or he ought to join with a neighboring colleague, so that together they may convene them in certain individual cities or places (*loca*) through the magistrates and *seniores locorum*.”¹⁵⁷ Eight years later, at the Council of Carthage, Marcellinus, the tribune and notary appointed by Honorius to settle the Donatist schism, ordered *seniores locorum* along with magistrates and landlords to prohibit Donatist meetings and confiscate their churches:

Whence I, by the authority of this edict, order all men of the *ordo*; also the landlords, *actores*, *conductores* of estates, both of the imperial house and also of private possessions; and the *seniores* of all *loca* to strive to prohibit the meetings of the Donatists in all cities and *loca*, being mindful of the laws, (and) their own dignities, worth, and well-being, so that . . . they hasten without any delay to hand over to the Catholics the churches.¹⁵⁸

These two injunctions imply that the *seniores locorum* could, in the first case, compel unwilling parties to give testimony for the public record (*gesta*) and, in the second, transfer private property.

Yet the same church councils help explain why the *seniores* never appear in the imperial edicts. When Aurelius, the bishop of Carthage, proposed that the Donatists should be convened through the magistrates, *seniores*, and the bishops' own men, the other bishops agreed, on the condition that Aurelius should attach his signature (not their own) when requesting this of the governors of Africa (they were presumably afraid of the governors' reaction).¹⁵⁹ Aurelius's resulting letter to the proconsul of Africa differed significantly from his oral proposal at the council. He did not mention either the bishops' own men or the *seniores locorum*. The municipal magistrates reigned alone:

So we petition your Sublimity that when we wish to admonish them [the Donatists] about this matter through magistrates, either in the cities or in the territories pertaining [to them], you should order that access to the *gesta* be given to us and that they come to court honestly upon our summoning.¹⁶⁰

In the same letter, Aurelius contrasted the Catholic desire for proper judicial procedure with the Donatist tendency to summon violent circumcellions.¹⁶¹ The message was clear: the Catholics were not the ones empowering the locals. Similarly, the imperial edict that confirmed Marcellinus's judgment and transferred Donatist property to the Catholics referred to enforcement only by the landlords and *conductores*, not by the *seniores*.¹⁶² The village leaders had been edited out for proconsular and imperial eyes.

Changes in Political Climate

What occurred in the fourth century was not a crisis in submunicipal government, but a lessening of the respect accorded to it. When bishops asked their governors to enforce their decisions, they concealed the fact that at the local level, village or estate magistrates might be doing the enforcing. Villages were still being promoted to city status in the eastern Mediterranean,¹⁶³ but in North Africa, examples are difficult to find before Justinian. Rural communities stopped recording their public building activities and magistrates on inscriptions, even though the *municipia* and *coloniae* continued to do so until the early fifth century. Those old Punic communities that had retained a sort of freedom under the early empire without ever becoming *municipia* disappeared from the epigraphic record or appeared in a new guise as *castella*

or *vici*. In short, at a time when North African rural communities were at their peak of wealth and cultural integration, they reached their nadir of recognized self-government. And this was not because choosing one's own leaders, building one's own shrines, and settling one's own disputes had lost their appeal.

The public activity of rural communities had always depended on the support of the landlords, decurions, and imperial officials who ruled them. In the late second and early third centuries, when some (but not many) villages and large estates had begun to adopt the trapping of "civilized" republics, these authorities could afford to be generous. By the fourth century, when far more rural communities had the ability to present a Roman face to their rulers, this generosity was strained. In the third century, governors and imperial procurators had encouraged *castella* to become republics, and protected the citizen rights of tenants against their *conductores*. If they continued to do so in the fourth century, no record was left of it.

Part of the reason might have been a growing imperial disillusionment with local self-government, which affected the cities as well as the rural communities. Under the Tetrarchy and, especially, under Constantine, the imperial government chipped away at municipal autonomy piece by piece. The role of the *populus* in municipal elections was severely restricted. Magistrates by imperial appointment rather than election became more common.¹⁶⁴ Municipal *ordines* lost much of their fiscal power, first by being made to comply with imperial tax schedules in their collection of state taxes and later by losing control over their own city taxes and public lands.¹⁶⁵ North African municipalities resisted these inroads better than cities in many other parts of the empire, but it was a rearguard action. Throughout the empire, we see a trend toward hierarchical instead of civic forms of government and government by appointment rather than by election. It was not, all things considered, a favorable time for peasants to petition for self-government.

If peasants wanted protection, they needed to use a different sort of persuasion, one that appealed less to law and rights and more to patronage and pity. Augustine, when addressing the poor members of his congregation, said: "Look, brothers, you who are paupers without wealth . . . you know a poor man, who when he suffers some injury, turns to no one except his patron, in whose house he perhaps lives, whose renter, whose *colonus*, whose client he is, and he asserts that he suffers unjustly because he pertains to that [patron]."¹⁶⁶ An anonymous letter from a landlord near the *municipium* Matar in Proconsularis shows such patronage in action. A minor official, Salvius, had claimed revenues from the *coloni* of the *fundus* Volusianus.¹⁶⁷ To escape being taken to court,¹⁶⁸ the *coloni* took refuge in the tower of a local landlord (the author of the letter) and successfully obtained his intercession.¹⁶⁹ The landlord, who appears to have been a nonresident, sent a go-between to convince Salvius to settle the dispute privately instead of through the courts: "Desist, I pray, from disturbing weak and frightened men, exercise your

activity elsewhere, and think about me being pleased rather than offended by your promotion: we are, neither of us, defenseless nor uneducated men.”¹⁷⁰ By the late fourth century, the good rustics were “weak and frightened men” cowering in their landlord’s tower, not fellow citizens asserting their rights.

In reality, ordinary North Africans of the late empire were neither as pitiable as their patrons portrayed them nor as seditious as their enemies did, but it was the perception, not reality, that mattered. In a society that relied on many thousands of requests for favors (the “petition and response” mode of government described by Fergus Millar), the ability to persuade was essential. The governors’ predisposition to consider local populations seditious favored the power of landlords on a case-by-case basis and discouraged any further extension of local self-government, at least through the agency of emperors.

This chapter has traced the fate of North African community structures from the beginning of the Roman period to the fourth century. When the Romans arrived in Africa, there were thousands of preexisting collectives, some of them towns in the Greco-Roman sense, most of them tribes or villages. When Roman restructuring got under way during the early Principate, only a relatively small number of these communities were allowed self-government. Many villages were disbanded altogether, never to return, as a consequence of the Roman encouragement of an estate-based restructuring of the countryside. And even the most privileged rural communities—the *pagi* and *vici*—were kept firmly under the thumb of their mother cities or landlords.

Only in the Severan period did things begin to change. Hundreds of villages and estates set up inscriptions, chose their own magistrates, and erected buildings. Some achieved full self-government, becoming republics. The governors and imperial procurators appeared to encourage this trend, partly out of a self-interested desire to bypass the local aristocracy and directly govern the provinces, but also out of a certain idealism, a belief that Roman rule was supposed to bring civic life to the provinces.

One might have expected the trend to continue in the fourth and fifth centuries, when North African villages were enjoying an unprecedented prosperity and were more capable of presenting a Roman face to their rulers than ever before. Instead, the opposite happened. The imperial creation of new municipalities came to an end. Those old Punic or Libyan *civitates*, which had retained a sort of independence under the early empire without ever becoming *municipia*, disappeared from the epigraphic record or appeared in a new guise as *castella* or *vici*. We no longer find evidence of village magistrates or public works in either the epigraphic or the literary sources. Instead, it is the landlords who act as magistrates of their estates. I suggest that the reason for this is that the political climate had changed, perhaps partly in reaction to the third-century crisis. Emperors were more interested in restricting the autonomy of cities than in creating new self-governing communities. Village

petitions had far less a chance to obtain a favorable reception than in the third century.

What had not disappeared was the popular desire to form communities, to choose one's own leaders, and to participate in a civic life that was so essentially Roman (and North African). When we examine the sources closest to the rural communities themselves—a saint's life set on a large estate or a record of a peasant's sale of a slave boy—we see the continued presence of magistrates and even a reference to “citizens” of *fundi*. At the African church councils, bishops allude to *seniores* in the villages, although they edit them out when sending their proposals to the proconsul. Rural self-government survived but had gone underground. And there is something tragic in this. As a Tunisian philosopher has faulted a more recent empire for doing, the Roman government denied its own vision of man to its colonies.¹⁷¹ Farmers and villagers were spurred to look to a new form of community recognition, whereby a village needed to convince only three local bishops, instead of an emperor, to ordain its chosen leader.

citing the prohibition at Serdica. He was unsuccessful. At the end of the sixth century, Gregory the Great was still complaining to Africa's governor about primates on estates.⁶

Why, despite canonical and imperial prohibitions, did North Africans persist in ordaining rural bishops? Scholars have offered various explanations—the competition between the Catholics and Donatists to have more dioceses than the other sect; the North African church's conservative desire to retain its own traditions; the rural constituency of the Donatists—and all these explanations have some foundation in the sources.⁷ What has been left out of the discussion is the role of local populations. Recent historians have taken a curiously top-down approach to the topic of ecclesiastical promotion, much as if they were to write the history of North African municipalities while ignoring that communities petitioned to become *municipia*. The importance of Augustine's new *Epistula* 20* lies not in what it says about Catholic efforts to win over new congregations from the Donatists, but in how the acquisition of a bishop helped the *coloni* of various estates join to form a self-governing community. The ordination of bishops in the North African countryside was as much a product of local communal ambition as was the traditionalism and squabbling of the Christian church hierarchies.

As we will see, local communities sought to become *ecclesiae* in the fourth century for many of the same reasons that had led them to try to become republics in the third—for the sake of communal prestige, in order to choose their own leader, and not to be subject to another place. Electing a bishop enabled dispersed estates and villages to come together under a common leader and substitute the horizontal, collective membership in a diocese for the hierarchical relationships between tenants and landlords. Bishops brought rural populations a measure of self-government—a local law court, a place for public assembly, and a literate mediator with the outside world. The demand for such community recognition had continued to increase in the fourth and fifth centuries, even though (or perhaps because) the imperial government was no longer willing to fulfill it by creating new municipalities. The North African churches, because of their schism, were more generous, but underneath lies a popular push.

CHRONOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE RURAL BISHOPRICS

First, we must determine the scale of the phenomenon. How many rural bishoprics were there? When did they first get bishops? Were more of them Donatist than Catholic? In which North African provinces were they particularly numerous?

It is easy enough to find anecdotal evidence of North African rural

bishoprics. For example, the *Life of Melania the Younger* mentioned a large estate (*possessio*) near Thagaste (Proconsular Numidia), which had “a bathhouse, many craftsmen, gold-, silver-, and coppersmiths, and two bishops, one of our faith and one of the heretics [i.e., Donatists].”⁸ It is more difficult to come up with overall numbers. The church councils rarely gave the secular status of a diocese, democratically reducing each to a “people” (*plebs*) or “church” (*ecclesia*). And even with thousands of published North African inscriptions, the majority of North African bishoprics remain only names.

In order to calculate the number of rural bishoprics, I use both a process of identification and a process of elimination, identifying the submunicipal bishoprics and eliminating the urban. The latter has been the easier task. With relative security, 120 *ecclesiae* can be linked with known *municipia* or *coloniae* in Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, or Numidia. Another 44 may have been urban communities at some point in their history, although the sources are too early (i.e., Ptolemy, Pliny the Elder) or too late (Victor of Vita, Procopius) to make these identifications certain. The total count is 533 *ecclesiae* in these three provinces, 164 (31 percent) of which are known to have been cities, and 369 (69 percent) of which were either submunicipal or of uncertain status. Various textual sources suggest that 125 (23 percent) were *vici*, *castella*, *gentes*, estates, or otherwise “rural” communities.⁹ The rest—244 (46 percent)—are insufficiently documented to say.

Much depends on how we interpret these 244 obscure *ecclesiae*. There are two reasons for considering the majority of them submunicipal. First, North African cities are very well attested. They expressed their civic pretensions in the thousands of inscriptions surviving from Roman North Africa. The geographical authors who wrote about North Africa—Pliny the Elder, Strabo, Ptolemy—listed the towns, as did the imperial itineraries. Those places that left behind no evidence for their existence except for the church council subscriptions were probably not important urban centers. Second, 61 percent (148/244) of the otherwise unknown *ecclesiae* had only one named bishop. This percentage corresponds better to the submunicipal bishoprics than to the urban: 42 percent (53/125) of the submunicipal bishoprics had only one attested bishop, in contrast to only 8 percent (13/164) of the urban *ecclesiae*. The reasons for these statistics are unclear—rural communities, more than urban, may have decided not to ordain another bishop after their first experience, or their bishops may have been less able to afford traveling to church councils regularly (Aurelius of Carthage complained about the infrequent attendance of the bishops of the new dioceses).¹⁰ Whatever the cause, the tendency of the obscure *ecclesiae* to have only one known bishop is another reason to believe that the majority of them were rural. If this is accepted to be the case, the urban bishops were in the minority in Africa as a whole, although not in the province of Proconsularis.

When did most of these communities get bishops? Answering this question is not easy. With a few exceptions, we depend on the church council

subscriptions for our knowledge of bishoprics, and only four bishop lists are anywhere near complete: a council at Carthage under Cyprian in 256; the famous Council of Carthage in 411, attended by both Catholic and Donatist bishops; the *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae* compiled by Victor of Vita in 484; and the provincial councils in 646.¹¹ The fourth-century councils, with the exception of the schismatic synod of Cebarsussi (Byzacena) in 393, were not transmitted with their subscriptions intact. References to bishops in authors such as Optatus and Augustine, inscriptions, and saints' lives supplement the councils only to a limited extent. There is the added problem that not all bishops attended the church councils, not even in 411.¹²

Despite these caveats, it is probably safe to say that few villages or estates had bishops during the third century, although 35 percent of urban communities did.¹³ By 411, 76 percent of the *ecclesiae* that we can identify with villages, forts, or estates had bishops, compared to 93 percent of the cities, and 66 percent of the *ecclesiae* whose secular status is unknown. Until the end of the fifth century, new bishops continued to be ordained at a steady rate for these obscure communities. This chronology is unsurprising: first the cities got bishops, then in the course of the fourth century the most important rural communities (those that have left traces in the historical record), and finally, in the late fourth and fifth centuries, the insignificant villages and short-lived confederations of estates and *loca*.

As for which sect, Catholic or Donatist, had the most rural bishoprics, the Donatists predominated in the fourth century by a significant, though not overwhelming, margin. Of the eighty-eight bishoprics presumed to be submunicipal (because of place-name, textual evidence, etc.) and whose sectarian affiliation is also known, 73 percent had Donatist bishops, compared to 56 percent Catholic (these percentages overlap because many places had bishops of both sects). Among the "obscure" bishoprics, those whose status is unknown, 72 percent had Donatist bishops, and 52 percent Catholic. The Donatist predominance in the rural communities is weaker if only bishops without rivals are counted: 61 percent of the submunicipal bishops without rivals were Donatist, and 63 percent of the bishops of obscure communities. In the cities, the two sects were almost equally represented, with twenty-seven solely Donatist sees, thirty-four solely Catholic, and seventy-three with bishops of both sects.

The differences in the provincial distribution of the submunicipal and urban bishops are more striking. Forty-two percent of the submunicipal *ecclesiae* were in the ecclesiastical province of Numidia, 35 percent in Byzacena, and only 23 percent in Proconsularis. The *ecclesiae* whose secular status is unknown cluster even more strongly in Numidia and Byzacena, 39 percent and 47 percent, respectively. Proconsularis had far more urban bishops than either of the other provinces. Fifty-three percent of the cities with bishops were in Proconsularis, in contrast to 22 percent and 25 percent in Numidia and Byzacena, respectively. For Byzacena, some urban bishoprics

may lurk among those places whose status is unknown. This is less likely for Numidia, whose epigraphic record has been more intensively collected (the intensity of collection helps explain the high number of identified rural communities in Numidia). One explanation for these numbers is that Africa Proconsularis simply had more recognized cities than Numidia or Byzacena, as a legacy of Roman imperialism. Numidian *castella* like Tiddis were fully as populous and “urban” as the small *municipia* of Africa Proconsularis. However, due to a later chronology of conquest by Rome, the greater respect given to Punic than to Libyan communities, and a slower “Romanization,” many such small towns in Numidia and Byzacena had never managed to get formal municipal status.

Yet even taking into consideration its higher density of cities, Proconsularis had fewer bishops than it should have had. S. Lancel has collected a list of forty-six *civitates* and *municipia* of Africa Proconsularis for which no bishops are attested.¹⁴ Furthermore, a high proportion of the province’s rural *ecclesiae* possessed bishops only in the third or the seventh century, not during the fourth- and fifth-century peak.¹⁵ And while the number of bishoprics rapidly increased in Numidia and Byzacena during the late fourth and fifth centuries, the church of Proconsularis exercised restraint. By 484, it had only a third the number of the bishops of its larger, but more arid neighbors, Byzacena and Numidia.¹⁶ There are various possible explanations for Proconsularis’s oddities, including its small size. The *municipia* of fertile northern Proconsularis were geographically close to one another, often within ten kilometers. One bishop could oversee several of them. Furthermore, the Catholics of Proconsularis suffered more from persecution under the Vandal kings than Catholics in the other provinces in the late fifth century. This explains why the number of (Catholic) bishops declined during the fifth century.¹⁷ Yet perhaps as significant was the fact that the bishop of Carthage served *ex officio* as the province’s primate, and the primate needed to approve all new dioceses. In contrast, the primates of Numidia and Byzacena gained office by seniority and were frequently themselves bishops of rural communities.¹⁸ As will be discussed below, the bishops of Carthage displayed notable hostility toward new *plebes* trying to get their own bishops. The social and institutional weight of the capital gave them the means to enforce this attitude.

To sum up: almost two thirds of North Africa’s bishops arguably had their seats in villages or estates, instead of in cities, by the fifth century C.E. Very few of these rural communities would have possessed bishops in the third century; the ordinations would have taken place primarily in the fourth and fifth centuries. More rural bishops were Donatist than Catholic, although not by an overwhelming margin. More significant were the differences in provincial distribution: Numidia (the main seat of the Donatists) and Byzacena had a large proportion of the rural bishoprics; Proconsularis had very few. The reasons for this partly involve the history of Roman

imperialism in Africa, which had led to the recognition of more communities in Proconsularis as “cities” than in Byzacena and Numidia, but the differing structures of the provincial church hierarchies also had an effect. The primate of Proconsularis was the bishop of Carthage, whose instincts were to suppress the creation of village or estate dioceses. The primates of Byzacena and Numidia, often rural bishops themselves, would have been justly accused of hypocrisy for doing the same. Let us examine the attitude of the Catholic and Donatist church hierarchies in more detail, asking whether they or local congregations were the impetus behind the formation of the rural dioceses.

THE POPULAR PUSH

Recent scholarship, based on the Council of 411 and Augustine’s letters, has considered the prevalence of rural bishoprics in North Africa to be largely the result of competition between Donatists and Catholics to get the greater number of bishops, even over unwilling or indifferent congregations.¹⁹ This is certainly the impression given at the joint Donatist and Catholic Council of 411. The rival churches turned the roll call into a competition for determining who had the most bishops (and who therefore was the “true” church of Africa). Augustine’s friend Alypius, after listening to the subscriptions of several Donatist bishops of large estates, interrupted with “Let it be written that all of those have been ordained bishops in *villae* or *fundi*, not in any cities.”²⁰ Petilianus, the Donatist bishop of Cirta, countered: “You also have many [bishops] dispersed through the whole countryside in this manner. But where you have them thick on the ground, you have them without any congregations at all!”²¹ The latter accusation recurred several times during the roll call. When the Catholic bishop of Gratianopolis in Mauretania claimed he was “alone” (i.e., without rival), the former Donatist bishop of the place interjected: “Alone, without congregation!”²² Catholics accused the Donatists of the same thing. When a certain Donatus claimed he was the only bishop in the *locus* Mediana Zabuniorum, the Catholics asked him to prove that he had access to even one house.²³ These quips give the impression that the Donatist and (especially) the Catholic church hierarchies were ordaining bishops on their own initiative to oversee indifferent or hostile populations.

Some of Augustine’s letters seem to confirm that the church ordained bishops in places that did not request them. In *Epistula* 20*, Augustine described his decision to ordain a bishop to the *castellum* Fussala without any reference to the wishes of its own people:

In the meantime, I was not sufficient to rule an extremely vast diocese, as necessity demanded, since not only many people in the city, but also many *plebes* in the countryside had come over from the Donatist faction. And so after having taken counsel with the brothers, it seemed to me that some bishop should be ordained in a certain *castellum* Fussala (which was subject to the cathedral of Hippo), a bishop to

By Augustine's own testimony, he consulted only the monks and clerics at Hippo, not the villagers of Fussala, about the bishop he would ordain for them. He chose a young man, Antoninus, "without them desiring it"; the villagers only agreed out of deference to Augustine.²⁵ Fussala was not the only new diocese in the region of Hippo whose bishops owed their ordination to Augustine instead of to their *plebes*. The *castellum* Siniti had a Donatist bishop by the late fourth century, who (thanks to Augustine's efforts) converted to Catholicism, to the disgust of many of his congregation. Before this conversion, Augustine had acted as bishop for the Catholics at Siniti, sending a priest to preach and perform religious services there.²⁶ By 411, Siniti's apostate bishop was dead, and a new Donatist bishop held Siniti without a Catholic rival.²⁷ Augustine once again intervened to convert the *castellum* to the Catholics. Over the heated objections of the bishop of Sitifis, Augustine groomed a native of Sitifis, Lucullus, to be bishop of Siniti, valuing him for his knowledge of both Latin and the native language.²⁸ Lucullus was ordained by 416 and by the 420s was parading relics of Saint Stephen, his *populus* marching before him.²⁹ Augustine had succeeded in planting his candidate at Siniti (though, not as will be discussed below, at Fussala).

These examples do not, however, preclude local initiative for getting a bishop in the first place. What they show is that if one sect had ordained a bishop to a community (or threatened to ordain one), the rival sect had to do the same, if it nursed any hope of converting the *plebs*. And bishops of enormous dioceses like Augustine's, who had to give their permission before a new diocese could be created, could exercise great influence over the candidate to be elected. At the Council of 411, bishops were accused of lacking congregations, not because their communities objected to bishops in principle, but because they wanted to have their own choice. In the case of the *locus* Mediana Zabuniorum (where the Donatist bishop allegedly did not have access to any houses), the Catholics explained that they used to have a Catholic bishop there, currently maintained a *plebs* and *basilica* under a priest, and planned to ordain a new bishop soon.³⁰ There was in fact "no Donatist bishop at Mediana Zabuniorum," for a bishop without a congregation was not a bishop at all.³¹ This was a Catholic diocese by the inclinations of its people. Even Augustine refrained from ordaining new bishops without the agreement of the local congregations, no matter how reluctant that agreement might be. At both Siniti and Fussala, he relied on priests before he had a sufficient number of Catholics and made a special effort to find Punic-speaking candidates for bishop who would be acceptable to the villagers.³² He may have bullied the inhabitants of Fussala and Siniti to give their approval to his specific candidate, but he nevertheless admitted that they had to give it. Moreover, these congregations persisted in choosing new bishops, in opposition to Augustine's wishes during his life, and after his death. Both

Siniti and Fussala still had bishops in the *Notitia* of 484.

Attitude of the Church Hierarchy toward Rural Bishoprics

Rather than portraying local communities as the passive victims of ecclesiastical imperialism, the North African church councils assumed that they were contriving to become independent dioceses. The first complaint of this nature was aimed at *plebes* that were switching their allegiance to another bishop already ordained. In 345–48, Antigonus of Maginensis complained about his neighbor “going around to the congregations attributed to me, and stirring up the people so that they call him father, me stepfather.”³³ In response, the bishop of Carthage, Gratus, castigated those bishops who “lured toward themselves the minds of unlearned congregations, contrary to discipline, the Gospel tradition, and the agreements of peace.”³⁴ At the Council of Carthage in 390 C.E., Felix of Selemselitana was concerned about congregations that had never had their own bishop obtaining one without the permission of the bishop in whose diocese they lay.³⁵ The council decreed that the current bishop must agree to alienate part of his diocese. The rules became stricter as complaints increased. At the Council of 397, the bishop Epigonius of the colony Bulla Regia noted that even though many councils had forbidden *plebes* from receiving their own “rectores, id est episcopos” without their previous bishop’s permission, the abuse continued. By means of evil persuasion, feasting, and outright tyranny, the priests were encouraging the people to elect them bishop.³⁶ Epigonius asked that such men not be received as petitioners for ordination: “Because of their evil thoughts and perversely formed advice, this I say: that a *plebs* that always has belonged to a diocese ought not receive a *rector*, nor should it ever have its own bishop.”³⁷ The bishop of Carthage, Aurelius, supported Epigonius’s proposal with vigor. If men were thus “conspiring” with their congregations, they should be ousted from the “*ecclesia* that had wrongly supported them” by the secular authorities, lose their property, and be treated as rebels.³⁸ Moreover, by 407, a new diocese had to be approved by the full provincial council, not just the primate and the previous bishop.³⁹ This canon, which was rooted in the ecumenical councils, had a long life, being excerpted into the fifth-century *Registri ecclesiae carthaginensis excerpta* and the early sixth-century *Breviary* of Ferrandus of Carthage.⁴⁰

If these decrees are to be considered representative, the North African church hierarchy was resisting, not initiating, the formation of new dioceses. But these were, of course, Catholic church councils, and the most virulent critics of new dioceses—Gratus and Aurelius of Carthage, Epigonius of Bulla Regia—presided over major cities with large territories. The Donatist church (whose council decrees were not transmitted) may have thought differently. Several outbursts at the Council of 411, however, indicate that the bishops of large Donatist dioceses were similarly outraged by secessionist *plebes*. When

Sabinus, the Catholic bishop of Tucca (in Numidia), announced his presence at the council, the Donatist bishop of Milev responded that the man was his own parish priest.⁴¹ We know from earlier in the council that Milev claimed Tucca as part of its diocese.⁴² Sabinus explained how the citizens of Tucca had urged him to go over to the Catholics and become their bishop: “After being often asked by my citizens, with the result that I had received them into the communion of the Catholic church, they begged the church that a bishop be given to them. They petitioned for me, and I was ordained.”⁴³ Here was a priest doing exactly what the Council of Carthage had forbidden—becoming bishop of a new *ecclesia* without the permission of its former bishop. While the church councils had put most of the blame on the priests, according to Sabinus, the people of Tucca had taken the initiative. In this case, the Catholics had agreed to create a new diocese, because it meant winning a congregation from the Donatists.

In the African church’s own record, local congregations conspired with their priests to become bishoprics; bishops were not being distributed by the church hierarchy (or the landlords) merely as a way to claim more bishops than the rival sect. On the contrary, Catholic and Donatist bishops were reluctant to create new colleagues, especially if this meant alienating part of their diocese. Yet they did so if it was the only way of gaining or keeping a *plebs* in their sect. The schism gave the local populations of North Africa a powerful bargaining chip. And after the imperial edict of unity in 405 C.E., the Catholics were forced into a massive extension of episcopal status, only reaching a compromise with Donatist *ecclesiae* by allowing them to retain their bishops.⁴⁴ This was because congregations, given a choice, wanted their own *rector*.

The Role of the Plebs in Episcopal Elections

Why did North African congregations consider it so essential to have their own bishops? An important factor was the principle that any group needs a leader. When discussing the relationship between a bishop and his *ecclesia*, Cyprian noted that even bees, cattle, and bands of thieves had leaders.⁴⁵ Natural law demanded that men have a leader, and without one a church could not even be said to exist. As Cyprian wrote in the same letter, a *plebs* united with its *sacerdos* was an *ecclesia*; neither one could constitute an *ecclesia* on its own.⁴⁶ A century later, the bishop Felix of Selemselitana, during a discussion of the creation of new bishoprics, presented it as natural that a *populus* should want a bishop once sufficient numbers had become Christian: “The people of God, multiplied by conversion, desired to have their own leader (*rector*).”⁴⁷ If any group of Christians wanted to be considered a church, it needed a *sacerdos*.

The question is why a *plebs* could not be satisfied with a priest (which, according to the Eastern church canons, should have sufficed on an estate or

in a village). Priests could perform the essential sacraments, baptism and the eucharist. With their bishop's permission, they could even reconcile penitents and preach sermons.⁴⁸ And they were less of a financial drain on communal resources.

The problem was that congregations could not choose their priests. When they felt like it, bishops gave *plebes* a say—Cyprian apologized to his *plebs* of Carthage when he ordained a *lector* without consulting them.⁴⁹ In his new *Epistula* 18*, Augustine urged the *ecclesia* Memblibanum, a parish of his diocese, to petition for a priest. Yet the context of this letter shows how little choice subordinate *plebes* really had. Memblibanum had already chosen the man it wanted as a priest, Gitta by name. Augustine had refused to ordain him when a delegation from the Memblibanum met with him at nearby Unapompei. Later events proved his judgment correct: he was writing to tell them that Gitta's antics with a woman had cost him his clerical status altogether. Now Augustine urged them to nominate someone else, or he would do it for them: "Therefore petition for someone to be ordained your priest, or, if you do not find anyone, we in the Lord's name and with His help will provide."⁵⁰ Augustine was in fact being generous to this community, which had only recently converted from the Donatists. His other letters discuss plans for training priests for the estates of his diocese without any hint of consultation with their *plebes*.⁵¹

A new bishop, unlike a priest, was nominated by the "suffrage of the people" (*suffragium populi*). A growing body of evidence suggests that this suffrage was more collective—even on estates—than has often been admitted.⁵² Elections were indeed subject to veto by the ordaining bishops. The Councils of Nicea (325) and Antioch (341) had specified that bishops had to be ordained by at least three bishops with the approval of the metropolitan of the province.⁵³ At the Council of Carthage in 390 C.E., the Catholic bishops agreed to follow a similar procedure. Numidius of Maxula complained about some bishops ordaining colleagues simply "at the desire of the *populus*" and without the approval of the provincial primate.⁵⁴ The council decreed that the three ordaining bishops had to receive approval from the primate before proceeding. Moreover, by the late fifth century if not before, only the central place of the diocese—the "mother" church (*matrex*)—was supposed to participate in episcopal elections.⁵⁵ These restrictions were needed, however, because fourth-century episcopal elections were more popular than was to everybody's taste.

The exact form of the laity's participation—the *suffragium populi*—has been debated and may have varied by place and time.⁵⁶ Cyprian wrote of two stages. First, the candidate was tested by "public judgment and testimony," all his merits and demerits being pronounced. Then, at least three bishops ordained him with the people watching (and not shouting out their disapproval).⁵⁷ Augustine described *suffragium* by the peasants of the *fundus* Thogonoetum. They had already previously informed their landlady—in

writing—that they would leave the estate if she tried to make them accept a specific candidate against their will (an indication that *coloni* were not as powerless in relation to their landlords as they are often portrayed).⁵⁸ When the primate of Numidia came to the estate to ordain the new bishop, the *coloni* gathered in their church. The primate asked them in Punic whether they wanted to become part of the diocese of Antoninus (the former bishop of neighboring Fussala), and they “proclaimed their will with great shouts” and began to relate in detail all the ills they had suffered from the man.⁵⁹ When the primate ordered them to accept the decisions of the council in favor of Antoninus, they marched out of church, down to the last vowed virgin (showing that women also were present). The primate was forced to promise “that with regard to giving them a bishop, he would do nothing that they refused.”⁶⁰

The congregations of cities expressed their will similarly by acclamation. When Augustine (rather in violation of the canons) designated his successor, Heraclius, he gave testimony regarding Heraclius’s merits, and then the congregation acclaimed their approval in church.⁶¹ Popular suffrage in Africa seems to have consisted of public testimony, shouts, and well-chosen silence (during the ordination itself).

Sometimes suffrage also involved physical intimidation. In Cirta (the capital of Numidia) ca. 305 C.E., the country dwellers (*compenses*) and amphitheater performers barricaded the urban *cives* in the church and proceeded to elect their own man as bishop. The provincial governor was later disturbed to hear that a gladiator had been the one who carried the new bishop around on his shoulders.⁶² One of Augustine’s new letters describes how the *populus* of the capital Caesarea Mauretaniae elected a certain Honorius by force. The ordaining bishops had gathered in the city “so that the people may choose whom they desired to be ordained for them.” A multitude threatened them with physical violence unless they ordained Honorius as acting bishop until Rome and Carthage could be consulted about his translation (he was already bishop of another diocese).⁶³ When a letter was later read aloud to them condemning the ordination, the poor (*pauperes*) were incited to a “horrifying sedition.”⁶⁴ Such compulsory ordinations were not confined to the major cities. At the beginning of the sixth century, Fulgentius was elected bishop of the small town Ruspe in Byzacena because the inhabitants of the neighboring estates invaded the city in his support. The clergy of Ruspe had their own candidate, a deacon, who was related to the royal procurator of the region. The deacon had his men block the roads, but the *populus* flowed in from the estates, “testifying” to Fulgentius’s merits.⁶⁵

These elections may not be exemplary, but such was the nature of ancient politics. Municipal elections in Africa sometimes erupted into popular violence as well.⁶⁶ As Gibbon wrote long ago, “The interested views, the selfish and angry passions, the arts of perfidy and dissimulation, the secret corruption, the open and even bloody violence which had formerly disgraced

the freedom of election in the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, too often influenced the choice of the successors of the apostles.”⁶⁷ The novelty was that now the inhabitants of villages and estates could also shout, bribe, and threaten to get their man into office, and into an office that was the same whether in a city or the country. A uniform type of communal leadership had appeared in Roman Africa, and it spread like wildfire.

THE IMPACT OF BISHOPS: THE FORMATION OF NEW COMMUNITIES

As we have seen, the initiative for new dioceses appears to have come from below, not above, and by the fifth century, the majority of bishops in Numidia and Byzacena presided over communities that were not recognized cities. Yet the effort to determine the secular status of bishoprics tends to give a static impression of *ecclesiae*, implying that a bishopric could be identified with the place where the bishop had his seat (*cathedra*). The ancient sources encourage such assumptions, naming *ecclesiae* after the places where the bishops’ *cathedrae* were located. In practice, however, *ecclesiae* were confederations of *plebes* that had joined to elect a bishop. When a large estate like Melania’s obtained a bishop, not only the tenants of that estate but also the inhabitants of the surrounding territory belonged to his *ecclesia*. When the *cathedra* was a city, like Cirta or Hippo Regius, its relationship to its lesser *plebes* was not dissimilar to the predominance of an *urbs* / *oppidum* over its hinterland. The hinterland sometimes asserted its right to participate in elections, as when the inhabitants of the estates near Ruspe poured into the town in order to elect their candidate Fulgentius. On the whole, however, the urban *ecclesiae* preserved the shape of ancient city-states, eventually replacing the municipal magistrates with bishops, but not changing the relationship of the rural hinterland to the urban core.

It was the *cathedrae* on estates and in villages that transformed the geography of power in North Africa. *Cathedrae* began to act as the central places for new communities, whose inhabitants had previously thought of themselves only as members of their separate estates, *loca*, and so on. For example, an inscription from central Numidia, found near the remains of a church, commemorated how three *plebes* jointly built the basilica: “The Venusianenses began it, the Mucrionenses donated five columns, the Cuzabetenses donated six columns, all paved the apse, the Cuzabetenses decorated it the most.”⁶⁸ The *plebs* that contributed the most attached its name to the *ecclesia*: a Donatist bishop of Guzabetensis attended the Council of 411.⁶⁹ Guzabetensis had probably been the most powerful community of the three before becoming the *cathedra*: its toponym least resembles that of an estate, and several epitaphs for veterans were found near the church.⁷⁰

Becoming an *ecclesia* formally united Guzabetensis with its neighboring estates and initiated their conspicuous collective behavior. The horizontal, collective ties of becoming one *ecclesia* now competed with the hierarchical relationships between the landlords and *coloni* of the estates.

The Castellum Fussala

Augustine's *Epistulae* 20* and 209 provide a more detailed glimpse of this process of community formation.⁷¹ Sometime after 411 C.E., Augustine decided that the *castellum* Fussala in his diocese of Hippo Regius needed its own bishop. As he explained to the bishop of Rome and to Fabiola (a Roman noblewoman who had given Fussala's subsequent bishop hospitality in Rome), his decision was based on the number of Donatists who had become Catholics and the *castellum*'s distance from Hippo (forty Roman miles).⁷² To his subsequent regret, he convinced the Fussalenses to accept as bishop Antoninus, a twenty-year-old reader (*lector*) from the monastery at Hippo, whose impoverished parents had taken refuge in the episcopal poorhouse when Antoninus was a boy (*Epist.* 20*.2). As bishop of Fussala, Antoninus hastened to increase the power of his *castellum*. He allowed the men who manned its fortification walls to demand money, clothing, animals, wood, and stone from the neighboring estates.⁷³ He rented out the estate (*fundus*) conceded to his church by Augustine, and with the proceeds purchased at forcibly low prices two farms near Fussala in his own name.⁷⁴ To build his episcopal mansion at the *castellum*, he took the roof tiles from one of these farms (*Epist.* 20*.30). Outraged farmers brought Antoninus before the episcopal court at Hippo. Augustine tried to reform the young bishop, demanding that he reimburse the farmers whose land he had taken, but nothing came of it. Part of the problem was that many of Augustine's monks were sympathetic toward their former brother, believing him to be falsely accused (*Epist.* 20*.8). One man who had been confined in the episcopal prison until he sold his farm had more luck in the imperial courts. Antoninus's *defensor ecclesiae* (a nonclerical officer who was in charge of the episcopal prison) saved himself from public condemnation only by swearing that his bishop had ordered him to imprison the man.⁷⁵ At this point, Augustine and the primate of Numidia decided to remove Antoninus from the *castellum*. The Fussalenses gathered and this time chose for themselves the man to be ordained their bishop.⁷⁶

The matter did not, however, end there. Eight of the estates (*fundi*) in Antoninus's former diocese had failed to attend the election of the new bishop. They were willing to remain under Antoninus's authority, and the primate of Numidia allowed Antoninus to take over these estates as a separate diocese.⁷⁷ But Antoninus still wanted his mansion. None of the eight *fundi* were fitting residences for a bishop, so he tried to convince the senatorial (*clarissima*) landlady of the *fundus* Thogonoetum (near Fussala) to transfer

her estate to his new diocese and allow him to live on it. Thogonoetum was important enough for its *coloni* to have their own *basilica* and their own scribes. Although the landlady may have been tempted (Antoninus later claimed that she agreed), her *coloni* threatened (in writing) to emigrate if she allowed Antoninus on the estate.⁷⁸ By this point, Antoninus had appealed to the bishop of Rome about his deposition from Fussala, and Pope Boniface I ordered an inquiry.⁷⁹

Ca. 420 C.E., the legates from Rome, Augustine, and the primate of Numidia were traveling around the estates near Fussala trying to reach a compromise in the face of great popular hostility. The Fussalenses rather understandably blamed Augustine for forcing his candidate Antoninus on them in the first place, and the venerable bishop of Hippo considered it unsafe to step within ten miles of their *castellum* (*Epist.* 20*.23 and 20*.18). The neighboring estates were scarcely more cooperative. When the *coloni* of Thogonoetum were warned by the Fussalenses that the legates intended to force them to give individual testimony under oath (thus making themselves liable for future prosecution), they marched collectively out of the church in the presence of Augustine, the papal legates, and the primate of Numidia. Augustine tried to offer Antoninus two *fundi* to replace Thogonoetum, but the *coloni* of these places also refused. No satisfactory settlement was reached. When Augustine was writing about the affair in 422/23, Antoninus had gone to Rome to appeal once again.

At one level, the deposition of Antoninus was a drama of individuals—the ambitious young Antoninus wanting a fancy house, a noble landlady trying to keep her tenants from leaving, and the aging Augustine regretting a mistake. At another level, it is a story of communities—the rise of a *castellum*, the only independent rural community in the area, to sufficient prominence to subsume the neighboring estates, and the coalescence of some of these estates into an *ecclesia* of their own.

Before Fussala had a bishop, it was already vaguely connected to its neighboring estates. When Augustine reflected on the pre-Catholic days of the *castellum*, he observed:

Fussala it is called, a *castellum* adjoining the territory of Hippo. There was never a bishop there before, but rather it, along with the region near it, pertained to the diocese of Hippo. That territory had few Catholics. The Donatist error had unfortunately seized the other congregations there (which comprised a great multitude of people) to such an extent that there were hardly any Catholics at all in that *castellum*. By the mercy of God, it has been effected that all these places cohere to the unity of the church.⁸⁰

The Donatist “error” used to hold so many of the *plebes* in the region near Fussala that no Catholic existed in the *castellum*, implying that the residents of Fussala were in some way derived from the estates of its neighborhood. The fortification belonged to the local residents, not to some outside military

authority. Antoninus took control of the men who manned the walls, and later when addressing the Fussalenses called it “their” *castellum*: “Give me back the house that I built in your *castellum*!”⁸¹ So before it had become the *cathedra* of a bishop, Fussala served as central place of sorts for the farming population of the region.

The neighboring estates were not, however, under any formal juridical power of the *castellum*; instead, they were subject to their landlords. Augustine’s vague reference to all the *loca* being brought to unity by the mercy of God (“actum est in dei misericordia, ut omnia ipsa loca unitati ecclesiae cohaerent”) fails to communicate the role of landlords in bringing about this religious unification. The *vir clarissimus* Celer (whose influence in the area Antoninus complained of) had received several letters from Augustine in the past urging him to convert the *coloni* on his estates and to close Donatist churches. Celer had sent his procurator from Carthage to do the job.⁸² Other landlords in the region of Fussala had a similar hands-on approach to their tenants. The military tribune Hesperius, known from Augustine’s *City of God*, owned the *fundus* Zubedi in the area of Fussala. He resided at Hippo but spent part of his time at his house in Zubedi. He brought relics from Jerusalem in order to cure his animals and slaves from disease and soon afterward founded a Catholic church on the estate, with the approval of the bishops of Hippo and of the *castellum* Siniti (Fussala did not yet have a bishop).⁸³ The *clarissima femina* who owned the *fundus* Thogonoetum had also allowed her estate to have a church, frequently corresponded with her *coloni*, and sent her son-in-law to deal with Antoninus in person. These landlords wished to be on good terms with their tenants. What they did not encourage was the formation of local communities outside of their control, crossing the boundaries of estates.

The very act of creating a new diocese bound these *plebes* more closely to Fussala, in fact turning the tenants into Fussalenses. We see this when the people of Fussala were interrogated by the legates. The bishops first questioned the people (*populus*) of Fussala collectively with their bishop present and later questioned the *coloni* of each estate with their *actores* and *procuratores*.⁸⁴ The *populus* of Fussala thus included *coloni* from the individual estates and their landlords’ agents. In addition to the *plebes* that constituted the original *ecclesia* of Fussala, Augustine promised to transfer from Hippo’s diocese five more *fundi* that were neither juridically nor socially connected with the *castellum*.⁸⁵ Augustine was merely giving the bishop of Fussala spiritual authority over these estates; he was not making them part of the *castellum*’s formal territory. But Antoninus and his allies had more grandiose ideas.

What Antoninus had done to offend most was to help his *castellum* assert fiscal and judicial power over its territory, and turn himself into its magistrate. His allies were the sort of village middle class not bound to the landlords: a *defensor ecclesiae*, an ex-soldier (reminiscent of the veteran inscriptions at

many North African villages), and the men who guarded the walls.⁸⁶ He allowed these strongmen to collect money and supplies from the surrounding territory and used part of the proceeds for a construction campaign at the *castellum*.⁸⁷ He dismantled farms to provide tiles for the episcopal residence, perhaps stimulating a trend archaeologists call “agglomeration”—wealth and population shifts to central places instead of dispersed farms. Augustine described some of his victims. The seller of one *possessio* or *praedium* took Antoninus to imperial court, accusing the bishop of keeping him in the episcopal prison at the *castellum* until he agreed to sell up. The other farm was smaller—referred to as a *possessio* and by its diminutive *possessiuncula*. It had a main house (*domus*) jointly possessed by two brothers.⁸⁸ The bishop bought out one brother, proceeded to move the roof tiles of the *domus* to his residence in the *castellum*, and refused to give the other brother a share of the crop. The offended brother complained to the ecclesiastical court of Hippo. What upset Augustine about these dealings was the image of a “pauper” bishop, a man he had brought up in his own poorhouse, becoming a landlord in his own right due to the influence of his episcopal office. At the Council of Hippo, in a decree almost certainly addressing complaints against Antoninus, the assembled bishops ordered that “pauper” bishops could not acquire property in their own names.⁸⁹ The issue was not merely one of abuse of power, but of social and geographical mobility. Antoninus was raising himself from poor man to landlord and local magistrate, while at the same time encouraging his *castellum* to act like a town.

The absentee landlords were likely to have lost by this behavior, and Antoninus blamed them for blocking his reinstatement. Antoninus accused Augustine and the other bishops of listening only to certain powerful individuals—particularly the *vir clarissimus* Celer—rather than to the wishes of the Fussalenses as a whole.⁹⁰ Augustine denied that Celer had any official authority at the time when Antoninus was objecting to him (he was silent about his unofficial, seigniorial authority). Antoninus further complained about the procedure the bishops used to interrogate the *coloni* of Fussala and Thogonoetum.⁹¹ The *populus* of Fussala had first been questioned under their new bishop’s eye. Antoninus insisted that the new bishop be absent and, more revealingly, that the *coloni* should be allowed to give testimony without their *conductores* present, thus removing the men who had the power to demand their rents and labor services.⁹² As became clear when the judges reached Thogonoetum, Antoninus wanted the *coloni* to give individual, not collective testimony, so as to not stifle those who may have supported him. In his own mind at least, he possessed a good deal of support among the local peasantry and had only been deposed because of the opposition of the landlords and Augustine. There is, of course, little reason to believe Antoninus’s version of events more than Augustine’s (who stressed that the disaffection against Antoninus was general), but it is worth noting that the eight smaller *fundi* were willing enough to have Antoninus as their bishop.⁹³ Although Antoninus

was no saint, an aggressive, Punic-speaking bishop, who had impressed the prior of Hippo's monastery with his Latin reading, had persuaded the bishop of Rome to support his cause, and did not hesitate to argue with senatorial landladies, could be an asset in the North African countryside.

The events at Fussala allow us to glimpse some of the politics behind the rural bishoprics of North Africa, both before and after their creation. By electing a bishop, the dispersed populations of separate estates, previously only under the authority and patronage of their landlords, were brought together as one *populus*. The *castella* and large estates could become the central places of new territories, with bishops as their leaders. Village bishops like Antoninus began to run episcopal prisons, man fortification walls, and demand contributions of supplies from the neighboring estates. Under the privilege of *episcopalis audientia*, they could judge civil disputes and free slaves. Bishops usurped some of the functions of the secular courts, in places that had never before had the authority to settle their own disputes.⁹⁴ In short, they were assuming much of the power of municipal magistrates, without any emperor ever authorizing them to do so.

Ecclesiae into Civitates?

Electing bishops helped rural communities acquire some of the characteristics of self-governing communities. The question arises whether the rural bishoprics actually *became* cities in the eyes of contemporaries. Elsewhere in the empire, most notably in Gaul, the word *civitas* came to be virtually synonymous with the seat of a bishop.⁹⁵ When, if ever, was an *ecclesia* considered the equivalent of a *civitas* in North Africa?

By the late fifth century, some ecclesiastical sources were referring to obscure North African bishoprics as *civitates*. Victor of Vita, a Catholic bishop of Byzacena who wrote a history of the Vandal persecutions, generously extended the title of *civitas* to any place with a Catholic bishop. For example, when a group of exiled bishops started to criticize an old woman for joining them on the road, she claimed to be the daughter of the former bishop of the "civitas Zuritana."⁹⁶ Zuritana is only otherwise known because its illiterate bishop (possibly this woman's father) attended the Council of 411. The Donatists considered it the parish of another place.⁹⁷ Victor called other obscure places like Mizeitana, Aquitana, and Vita (his own *cathedra*) *civitates*.⁹⁸ Although it is possible that they were all *municipia* or *coloniae* that had just never been mentioned by another source, more likely Victor was applying the word *civitas* to any Catholic *ecclesia*, perhaps to make the Catholics more respectable in the eyes of his audience—the court circles of Constantinople.

Victor's usage is paralleled by sixth- and seventh-century sources. In Procopius's *Bellum Vandalicum* and *De aedificiis*, Tigisi (a *locus* and *vicus* in fifth-century texts), and several other unknown or submunicipal communities,

were called *poleis*.⁹⁹ The bishops of three obscure North African *civitates* attended the Council of Constantinople in 533: Pompeianus “episcopus civitatis Victorianae,” Valerianus “episcopus ecclesiae civitatis Obbae,” and Victor “[episcopus] ecclesiae municipii Sinna.”¹⁰⁰ Pope Gregory I wrote about bishops of the “civitas” Tigisi and the “civitas” Lamigigga in the 590s.¹⁰¹ The anonymous Ravenna Geographer (ca. 700 C.E.) listed all places in North Africa as *civitates*, highlighting Memblone (a *locus* in the early fifth-century *Miracula Stephani*) as one of the more important.¹⁰² There are at least three possible explanations for the promiscuous use of *civitas*: (1) the texts were being imprecise, whether out of ignorance or a desire to make these places seem like *civitates*; (2) *civitas* had begun to mean any place with a bishop; (3) some of these places had actually become urban communities, in a nonecclesiastical sense.

As with most things, different explanations apply to different examples. Victor of Vita, the Ravenna Geographer, and bishops attending Eastern councils were probably being imprecise. The Ravenna Geographer, distant in time and place from Africa, would not have had the information to point out *castella* or *vici* (as the earlier imperial itineraries had) if he had wanted to. Victor, on the other hand, knew North African geography well, but neither he nor the bishops attending Eastern church councils had an incentive to proclaim the insignificance of their sees. It was, after all, a violation of the Eastern canons to ordain a bishop in a village or on an estate, and by the early sixth century these prohibitions had finally entered North African collections of canon law (though they were not obeyed).¹⁰³

Outsiders still recognized that North African bishops sometimes presided over places that were not *civitates*. Procopius called a number of North African bishoprics *chōria* or *phrouria* (including the *castellum* Fussala), and Gregory I criticized the North African church for having primates “per villas,” ordering them instead to live in *civitates*.¹⁰⁴ Nor had North Africans themselves lost the ability to differentiate between urban and nonurban communities. Victor of Vita readily distinguished between *urbes*, *oppida*, *vici*, and *loca* when writing about the Arian clergy.¹⁰⁵ An anonymous commentary on Job by an Arian author writing perhaps under late Vandal rule depicted people gossiping in “the *civitates* and also the *castella*.”¹⁰⁶ Victor Tonnennensis, a North African bishop who authored a chronicle in the middle of the sixth century, differentiated between *urbes*, *civitates*, and *castella*,¹⁰⁷ and his contemporary North African, the poet Corippus, distinguished *urbes* from *castella* and *loca*.¹⁰⁸ In short, the differences between large cities, towns, villages, and estates still mattered in the sixth century, and North African bishops sometimes presided over communities in the last two categories.

Ferrandus, a deacon of Carthage, in his *Life of Fulgentius of Ruspe* (written in the 530s), is the only North African of the sixth century to discuss the ordination of bishops to such rural communities in any detail. Fulgentius had founded a monastery in a *locus* given to him by the *primarius* of Byzacena. It

lay in the neighborhood of many estates (*possessionses*) inhabited by honest men (probably meaning their landlords).¹⁰⁹ Ferrandus later narrated how Fulgentius had managed to avoid becoming the bishop of these *loca* by hiding, and also escaped “the many *loca* where [he] had been elected as the first or only choice.”¹¹⁰ Instead he was elected by the *cives* of the “noble town” (*nobile oppidum*) Ruspe, who were upset that a community like their own, with “senatorial inhabitants,” should lack a bishop, while places inferior in the “nobility of the flesh” had them (this was a temporary lacuna; Ruspe had possessed bishops at least since 411).¹¹¹ Ferrandus judged the status of Ruspe in a way no Roman of the fourth century would have, deriving it from the quality of the inhabitants (even those residing on neighboring estates) and the possession of a bishop, rather than based on recognition from the government. Yet even under the new definitions, bishops still were elected to *loca* that lacked such dignity.

It would therefore be incorrect to say that any place with a bishop had become a *civitas* by the sixth century. However, certain communities, which had stood on the edge of submunicipal and municipal in the fourth century, emerged from the period of Vandal rule appearing urban. Tigisi, only a *locus* in fifth-century North African sources, was in fact the Numidian *polis* that Procopius wrote about most. Procopius described its dominating position on a fertile plain, its large spring, its lack of fortifications (until Justinian’s largesse), and, most interestingly, a strange anti-Semitic foundation legend recorded in Punic on a pillar of white marble.¹¹² When the Phoenicians had fled Palestine because of the attacks of the Jews, some had got as far as Tigisi. There they had built a giant fortress (which had by then disappeared). The ancient Punic inscription on the marble column recorded: “We are they who fled before the face of Joshua, the robber, the son of Nun.”¹¹³ Scholars have quickly dismissed this story as fantasy, and so it must have been, as far as Tigisi’s true origins were concerned. But what matters is the motive the people of Tigisi had for telling the tale. This ambitious and prosperous community, which despite having obtained its own *ordo* and bishop at the end of the third century, was still being called *locus* and *vicus* in the fifth, became a city at last. A legend of ancient foundation and fortification (along with cooperation during Justinian’s campaigns) encouraged the Byzantine “restoration” of Tigisi.¹¹⁴ In the fourth and fifth centuries, however, Tigisi had only its bishops.

A natural selection of settlements had occurred, favoring places like Tigisi that had possessed most of the physical attributes of a city (and perhaps disfavoring the small *municipia* whose only claim to urbanism had been imperial recognition). For the communities at the extreme ends of the settlement hierarchy—the major cities and the obvious estates—things probably did not change much between the fourth and the sixth centuries. The instability lay in the middling communities on the border between urban and rural, municipal and submunicipal. The bishops themselves were participants

in the transformations—by providing a focal point for collective identity and by maintaining episcopal courts and fortifications—but by themselves they did not make cities.

Chapter 2 described how ceramics and other forms of material culture bridged the gap between town and country in the fourth through sixth century, making the *rustici* and *urbani* of Africa more alike than ever before. Chapter 3 argued that local political structures underwent the reverse trend: emperors stopped creating new municipalities, the “magistrates” of villages no longer appeared in the sources, and landlords were becoming the rulers of their estates with imperial blessing. Chapter 5 has described another type of diffusion, the diffusion of bishops, who were ordained to the major cities in the third century and by the fourth and fifth centuries presided over estates and villages in Byzacena and Numidia. Local communities sought them, and because of the competition between Donatists and Catholics and a peculiar way of choosing primates, the North African churches obliged. The result was a new sort of leadership, common to city and country.

These rural bishops provided an impetus for community formation, a way for small estates to come together under a common leader and even take a common name, counteracting the most damaging aspect of Roman domination—the scattering of rural populations onto separate estates. *Cathedrae* began to act as central places for people who had previously thought of themselves (or had been thought of) only as *coloni*. Augustine’s letters about the *castellum* Fussala allow us to see this process in more detail. After the ordination of a bishop, the *coloni* of the neighboring estates became Fussalenses, and several of these estates later became a separate diocese of their own. Village bishops like Antoninus began to run episcopal prisons, man fortification walls, and demand contributions of supplies from the surrounding territory. They usurped some of the functions and judicial procedures of the secular magistrates, in places that had never before had the authority to settle their own disputes. In the course of the fifth century, such bishops helped push some important villages over the edge into urbanism.

Most rural dioceses, however, were not centered on fortified *castella*, and most rural bishops were not like Antoninus. The average bishop on an estate stood more in awe of the landlords and imperial officials who, when it came to the actual exercise of power, could always outcompete him. Rather than throwing local property holders into prison, the majority of rural bishops probably contented themselves with gathering together relatively small congregations in their modest churches and preaching to them. If they were diligent, they trained their subordinate clergy to read and explain the scriptures to the outlying estates. As we will see, this quiet preaching and reading of the scriptures might have been the most revolutionary thing they could have done.

PART THREE

Preaching and Rebellion

on an estate may have been one of these resemblances.

The late fourth and early fifth centuries were in many respects revolutionary times for North Africa, not so much because of disloyal generals like Firmus and Gildo as because of the gradual transformations of local power structures. Historians have studied many of the mechanisms that may have brought about these changes, but rarely the transformative power of public speaking. It would be impossible to write a history of the end of the Roman Republic without Cicero's orations. Yet histories of the fourth and fifth centuries are frequently written with little reference to the most widely diffused form of public speaking Greco-Roman society produced, the Christian sermon. This is particularly regrettable because bishops possessed few means of acquiring influence other than their voices. In fourth-century North Africa, most churches were poor. Clerics, for reasons of ritual purity, could not carry weapons. Outside the major cities, bishops (like Antoninus) were often of mediocre birth and could not pass their position on to their children.⁴ The Donatist half of the North African church had no imperial recognition, and even Catholic bishops found it difficult to get the governors and senators to enforce their wishes in what was still only a partially Christian world. As Peter Brown has noted, the eventual secular power of the church was to a large extent a triumph of persuasion, not *potestas*.⁵ Sermons were the vehicles of persuasion.

There are nevertheless two good reasons for believing that sermons could have effected little political change. First, most of them do not seem particularly provocative. Their business is interpreting Bible stories, not critiquing contemporary events. Second, even if it is conceded that ancient audiences found sermons more stimulating than modern readers, the bishops appear to have been speaking to those very senators, landlords, lawyers, and decurions who held power anyway. They may have persuaded these people to rule differently, but such preaching could hardly be compared to a revolutionary *contio*.

Ramsay MacMullen has made this case most vigorously. Late Roman bishops were preaching to "the city's leadership, the upper ranks, accompanied by their slaves," with a possible admixture of artisans and small landowners; "overall, however, it was a distinctly upper-class audience, enriched or impoverished, depending on one's point of view, by a less narrow sampling of the population on certain days of special importance and in special settings, notably in martyr churches."⁶ And "at the occasional great, indiscriminate gatherings on a martyr's feastday or at baptisms," not much was communicated, "for the audience would not understand contentious matters."⁷ MacMullen's main evidence for the first of these conclusions is the sermons of bishops like Augustine, John Chrysostom, Zeno of Verona, and Caesarius of Aries, which tend to presume a propertied, literate audience. As for the inability of humble folk to understand "contentious matters," a long tradition of historical thought, derived ultimately from the classical authors

themselves, places a barrier of mutual incomprehensibility between educated *urbani* and the ancient peasantry. Nor are the rural clergy given much credit for reaching the local audiences that bishops failed to. When discussing Caesarius of Aries's efforts to increase teaching in the parishes, William Klingshirn has argued that Western Christianization was superficial both because of distances between churches and restrictions on preaching: "Even where a parish church was available to the population, it was often prevented by a lack of autonomy from serving as an effective center of christianization and depaganization; . . . priests and deacons were permitted to read the scriptures at Mass, but not to explain them in sermons."⁸ For the eastern Mediterranean, thanks in large measure to the work of Peter Brown, a rather more optimistic picture has emerged of Christian communication with local populations. Yet even here the sermons have been deemphasized, in favor of informal and nonverbal forms of communication.⁹

As we will see below, clerical communication penetrated more deeply in Africa than is often imagined. By studying the anonymous North African sermons, historians can glean something of its substance. And in the next chapter we will explore how this preaching encouraged a transgression of ideological boundaries comparable to the crossing of economic and political boundaries discussed in [parts 1 and 2](#).

AUGUSTINE'S AUDIENCE

In the early fifth century, a decurion named Curma from the *municipium* Thullium traveled to Hippo Regius in order to be baptized by Augustine. Thullium had first appeared in inscriptions when one of its decurions under Diocletian planted fruit trees. It had no bishop of its own until the sixth century and appears to have belonged to the diocese of Hippo.¹⁰ A priest of a neighboring estate (*fundus*) served its Catholic Christians (an interesting reversal of the usual stereotype of town-country relations).¹¹ Augustine's description of Curma's status evokes the humble nature of the place. He was a "curialis pauper" and "simpliciter rusticanus."¹² When he had become dangerously sick, he dreamed of going to the land of the dead. There he learned that it was another Curma, the smith of the neighboring estate, not himself, who was supposed to die (God had apparently confused the names). While in the place of the dead, he met with the priest of the *fundus*, who bade him to go to Hippo and be baptized by Augustine. This he did in the dream, with the priest and his clerics assisting Augustine with the baptism. When Curma woke up and told everyone of his dream, the estate priest encouraged him to be baptized by Augustine in reality. Curma traveled to Hippo at Easter time: "Easter was already approaching. He gave his name among the other *competentes*, unknown to us just like many others, nor did he bother to reveal his vision to me or to any of us. He was baptized; when the holy days were

over, he returned home.”¹³ Since Augustine had no idea who Curma was, Curma presumably presented the clerics of Hippo with a letter from his priest indicating that he was sufficiently prepared to become a *competens*. He stayed for the Easter cycle and thus would have been able to listen to Augustine’s Easter sermons for neophytes.

For scholars who would like to believe that bishops had contact with a wider social spectrum than MacMullen would allow, Curma has served as a welcome example.¹⁴ Yet what comes through in Augustine’s account is the extraordinary nature of the event. Curma’s baptism at Hippo was the stuff of visions, a story still told years later and heard by Augustine when dining with friends. Curma had found it difficult to imagine Augustine baptizing without projecting his own rural priest and clergy onto Hippo Regius. And Curma was, after all, a decurion, albeit a rustic one in Augustine’s estimation (Augustine was describing this event to the very aristocratic Paulinus of Nola). The key figure in religious life at Thullium was not Augustine, but the priest of an estate, who interpreted the residents’ dreams and probably baptized most of the residents himself.

Augustine’s surviving sermons strengthen the impression that for most of the year his congregation was composed of property-owning *urbani*, with a mixture of more humble outsiders on special occasions. To serve as a sample, the following paragraphs examine what Curma would have heard at Hippo—Augustine’s sermons to those seeking baptism (*competentes*) and to the newly baptized.¹⁵ These were preached toward the end of Lent and during Easter week, mostly at Hippo itself.

Augustine’s sermons to *competentes* (preached during Lent) and to neophytes (preached the week after Easter) often, though not always, presumed a propertied, literate audience. When “handing” them the creed, Augustine ordered them to record it on their hearts alone, not to read or write it, therefore assuming that they could write.¹⁶ The “poor” were mentioned as beneficiaries of charity or models for penitent Christians, not as the direct second-person listeners of Augustine’s sermons. When urging the *competentes* to fast, he bade them “to eat like paupers.”¹⁷ “You” should give charity to the poor, Augustine directed, as one method of obtaining forgiveness for minor sins.¹⁸ In a sermon on the Lord’s Prayer, he challenged his listeners: “Profess yourself a beggar of God. But don’t be embarrassed: even if one should be rich on earth, he is a beggar of God.”¹⁹ He expected them to have their own farms, houses, and slaves. A wife should not take her husband before the proconsul if he sold her villa without permission.²⁰ New Christians should forgive their enemies, even if someone had harmed “your villa or herds or your house or your slave or your slave girl.”²¹ Slaves came up frequently, sometimes in the context of how their master’s new religion should change his behavior to them (the new Christian should stop having sex with his slave girls),²² more often as part of a metaphor for the relationship between man and his *dominus*, God.²³ Augustine did not speak to slaves directly. In the

Lenten *Sermo* 392, he castigated the faithful for being embarrassed to undergo public penance when the emperor Theodosius himself had done so: “A senator isn’t ashamed, but only the decurion, at what the emperor himself wasn’t embarrassed to do. Does what didn’t shame an emperor embarrass a plebeian or businessman?” He thus divided the congregation into senators, decurions, plebians, and businessmen (*negotiatores*), categories familiar from imperial edicts and exclusive of slaves or *coloni*.²⁴ Villas come up as possessions, not places of residence. During Easter week, Augustine referred to the landlord who inscribes a boundary stone with the name of a powerful family instead of his own to discourage invaders (*S.* 146), and brothers becoming consorts of the same estate, in contrast to God’s heirs who inherit what cannot be divided (*S. Mai* 94).

With respect to their metaphors, the sermons to *competentes* assumed familiarity with trade, the law courts, the military, and other features of an administrative center and port like Hippo. The Creed itself was compared to a “contract” of partnership between merchants.²⁵ In a sermon for Easter Monday, traveling merchants would find that the Hippo region abounded in two goods—births and deaths—which Christians should try to profit from (spiritually of course).²⁶ Ships and their dangers were familiar.²⁷ The law courts were even more familiar: Christ was to be their *iurisperitus*, assessor, and advocate.²⁸ Salvation was explained in terms of contracts; Christ had released Christians from the *chirographum* of their hereditary debt as a form of *beneficium*.²⁹ The physical trappings of a city—the streets (*plateae*),³⁰ the residential quarters (*vici*), and the public games—resonate in the sermons.³¹ Augustine spoke of urban homeowners, who recoiled from the idea of scorpions crawling into their houses and were comforted by the image of a doctor entering their bedchamber to cure them of fever. Military metaphors occur only twice, focused more on the obedience owed by soldiers to their commander than the glories of battle.³²

Agricultural metaphors also occur. Drawing on John 15.1.5 (“pater meus agricola”), a sermon on the Creed compared God, the Farmer, cultivating man to the earthly farmer plowing, digging, and planting his fields.³³ Augustine told the *competentes* that the *agricola* God had planted his seed—the word of God—in the field of their hearts and waited to see whether useful plants or thorns (the *spinae* ubiquitous in North Africa) would grow there.³⁴ The Lenten *Sermo* 392, replete with references to litigation, senators, and proconsuls, ends with the familiar *spicae* versus *zizania* metaphor (Matt. 13.24–30, 13.36–43).³⁵ When explaining the Lord’s Prayer, along with references to slaves, doctors, and ships, Augustine compared a Christian to a wage laborer (*operarius*) in a vineyard (cf. Matt. 20.1–15).³⁶ Livestock metaphors occasionally appeared.³⁷ It would be dangerous to conclude much from these agricultural figures of speech: they were firmly grounded in the scriptures being read shortly before Easter, had become almost *topoi* in ecclesiastical authors, and took second seat in terms of both space and

originality to Augustine's other metaphors. Moreover, some of Augustine's sermons on the Creed and Lord's Prayer contained no agricultural metaphors at all.³⁸

The Easter sermons to the newly baptized were different, alluding almost exclusively to food, agriculture, and crafts. Sermo 5, addressed to *competentes* immediately before baptism, used only agricultural metaphors, the familiar grain versus *palea* (5.3) or *zizania* (5.8), and a more elaborate description of unfruitful growths (*sarmenta, spinae*), some of which served as fertilizer for the church (5.2). During the Easter vigil, when facing the people he had just baptized, Augustine noted that God had planted them, the clergy had watered them, and it was up to them to produce fruit.³⁹ In a number of sermons, the newly baptized's membership in the Christian community was explained in terms of harvesting, grain storage, and bread baking. Preaching was the rain, but it was also the labor of the cattle who had carried the new grain to the *horreum* of the church. The catechumens had entered the mill when they gave their names to become *competentes*; the fasting and exorcism were part of the milling process. Now the flour had been mixed with the water of baptism and baked with the fire of the Holy Spirit into the Lord's bread.⁴⁰ These metaphors of planting, milling, and baking were not incidental, but rather the focal point of the sermons to the newly baptized. Other metaphors are few, and those that occur also relate to agriculture or crafts, not trade or professions: grapes pressed to produce wine (*S.* 272); pottery fired (*S. Guelf.* 7; cf. *S. Wilmart* 5); and metal smelted to produce that rarest of treasures—gold (*S.* 227). In one Easter sermon (*S. Wilmart* 7), the social categories are broader than anything found in the Lenten sermons. Augustine contrasted his audience's Easter vigil to the vigils of other groups—"artisans, farmers, sailors, fishermen, travelers, merchants, administrators of various affairs, judges, lawyers, buyers and sellers of letters, those possessed of power, those subjected to power, and whatever art or industry through which human existence is carried on."⁴¹ Craftspeople, farmers, and the unfree ("potestatibus subditi") joined the more usual audience of landlords, merchants, administrators, and lawyers.

This analysis of Augustine's sermons leads to the same conclusion as MacMullen's: Augustine's typical congregation "was a distinctly upper-class audience, enriched or impoverished, depending on one's point of view, by a less narrow sampling of the population on certain days of special importance." The people whom Augustine personally instructed during Lent were property owners, merchants, lawyers, and a smattering of artisans. On Easter itself, he may have modified his words to appeal to visitors of a humbler sort, but even then it is not clear that he was speaking to anyone below the status of an independent farmer or artisan. A similar characterization might be made of the audience of Quodvultdeus, the only other North African bishop whose sermons to catechumens have survived under his own name. When bishop of Carthage in the 430s, he presumed free and propertied listeners, warning them

against the public games and theater, and using metaphors of slavery, motherhood, great households, *curiae*, architecture, but almost never agriculture.⁴²

The composition of Augustine's or Quodvultdeus's immediate audience, however, has little bearing on how effectively either communicated with the farmers, slaves, and craftsmen of their enormous dioceses. There are two fundamental problems with judging the extent of clerical communication from the sermons of bishops like Augustine. First, this approach ignores indirect forms of communication—the episcopal letters, digested sermons, occasional personal visits, and, above all, the rural clergy, all of which diffused bishops' words beyond their immediate listeners. The second problem is the assumption that the congregations of Hippo (or Milan or Antioch) were representative. Hippo was a big city, not the equal of Carthage (few Roman cities were) but the next level down, in the same class as Bulla Regia and Sicca Veneria, and not much inferior to the provincial capitals Cirta, Caesarea, and Hadrumetum.⁴³ What is surprising is not that Augustine usually aimed his words at property owners and merchants, but that he ever tried to address anyone else. Bishops like Augustine could not have expected to communicate with most of their *plebes* directly. The bishops of *castella* could hardly avoid them. Before making judgments about the preacher's audience, we must go beyond the preaching at the urban cathedrals and consider the congregations of smaller dioceses and the means by which urban bishops communicated with their rural parishes.

EPISCOPAL COMMUNICATION WITH THE COUNTRYSIDE

The communication of the Christian clergy with local populations can be approached from two different angles, neither fully satisfactory. Historians can ferret out descriptions of bishops delivering sermons (for example, Possidius of Calama preaching at the *fundus* Figuliensis) but not know what they said, or study the surviving sermons without knowing where, when, or by whom they were delivered. Aside from Augustine's sermons and a very small handful by authors such as Quodvultdeus and Fulgentius of Ruspe, the North African sermons that survive are anonymous.⁴⁴ This section takes the first approach, summarizing the evidence for preaching in the small towns, villages, and estates, whether by bishops or by their subordinates.

Bishops of Small Dioceses

Saints' lives suggest that the urban and rural populations of small towns met together in church more often than in cities like Hippo. In the *Acts of Saint Gallonius*, Gallonius was arrested for leading Sunday services in the

municipium Thimida Regia (“in hoc municipio collectam fecisse”). Gallonius’s followers, when interrogated, admitted that they had come from the neighboring rural communities (“in cella Sabaratias” and “ex locis diversis”).⁴⁵ Even in the case of the more important military city, Lambaesis, the priest of Lambaesis (which oddly enough had no bishop after the third century) had baptized the Christians of a neighboring *locus*, who joined him in his martyrdom.⁴⁶ According to Ferrandus, even rural audiences loved Fulgentius’s preaching. The people poured in from the estates near Ruspe to make Fulgentius their bishop, because whenever he spoke, they hung on his words, learning from his familiar speech heavenly doctrine.⁴⁷ Hagiographical exaggeration aside, it is likely that in such small *municipia*, farmers from nearby villages and estates attended the services. This was necessarily the case for the bishops of villages and estates. Antoninus of Fussala’s congregation was made up of small farmers, veterans, estate agents, and *coloni*, with the landlords living far away. The issue for such humble *ecclesiae* is not whether the audiences included peasants, but whether the bishops preached at all, rather than simply reading the scriptures and administering the sacraments. Did they preach in a style (and language) comprehensible to their congregations, and if so, was the content of their sermons sufficiently similar to the texts that have survived that something can be said about the substance of popular communication?

We know that some rural bishops preached, because texts refer to their teaching or public debates, or because actual examples of their works have survived. A sermon by Maximianus, the formerly Donatist bishop of the *castellum* Siniti, has been transmitted with works of Augustine. In simple, yet eloquent words replete with agricultural metaphors, Maximianus explains how he has repented his error and become a Catholic.⁴⁸ Augustine offered another of his neighboring rural bishops, Samsucius of Turrensis, as an opponent for public debate with his Donatist rival at Hippo.⁴⁹ In his *De viris illustribus*, Gennadius of Marseilles mentioned Asclepius, a fifth-century African bishop in the territory of Vaga, who wrote against the Arians and Donatists and “moreover is praised for his teaching extemporaneously.” Although there is a manuscript corruption at the place where Gennadius identified Asclepius’s see, the phrase “in Baiensi territorio” is enough to suggest that Asclepius was not the bishop of a city, but rather a community within Baiensis’s territory.⁵⁰ Gennadius also listed the bishops of two Mauretanian *castella*, Cerealis and Voconius. Voconius of the unidentified Castellanus (which Gennadius calls an “oppidum”) wrote against the Jews, Arians, and other heretics and also “composed an excellent volume of sacraments” (probably meaning the liturgy for the sacraments).⁵¹ Cerealis (of the *castellum* Ripensis) wrote an *altercatio* against the Arians, which has survived.⁵² Although Cerealis delivered this tract when he was visiting Carthage, it provides a taste of the simple, literalist interpretation of the scriptures that might have characterized his preaching at Ripensis. Further

examples of “village” exegesis can be found in the public letters written by bishops of the territory of Cirta and in the theological statements of bishops at the church councils.⁵³ These examples show that at least some submunicipal bishops were comfortable with interpreting the scriptures and concerned themselves with the same controversies that occupied their urban colleagues.

As for the question of whether all village bishops preached, it can only be said that failure to preach would have been considered a gross dereliction of duty. Explanation of the scriptures was as important a part of North African religious services as the eucharist.⁵⁴ The main reading service is what liturgical scholars call the “fore-mass,” a service of scriptural readings, psalms, preaching, and prayers which preceded the mass on Sundays and holy days. Priests could deliver the sermons when necessary, but it was particularly the duty of bishops to do so. Optatus of Milev considered preaching (*tractare*) one of the defining parts of the *officium* of a bishop (along with laying on of hands and offering sacrifice). The North African bishop who authored a public letter against dice (*De aleatoribus*), probably in the fourth century, considered failure to preach a pollution of the sacraments. When bishops did not offer “documents from the holy scriptures” and “admonish healthfully,” God promised eternal torments for them instead of rewards.⁵⁵ The metaphors of hunger and thirst that medieval Christians would apply to the eucharist were used for sermons in fourth- and fifth-century North African texts. In *De aleatoribus*, bishops were the agents for Christ’s estates, responsible for distributing spiritual food: “We are the *dispensores* and *procuratores* of the gospels.”⁵⁶ For Augustine of Hippo and Fulgentius of Ruspe, *praedicatio* was the rain, removing the drought of ignorance that would prevent the seeds of salvation from growing.⁵⁷ The Donatist Tyconius equated the teachers of divine scriptures with the rivers and fountains of waters.⁵⁸ Arnobius the Younger, a fifth-century North African immigrant to Rome, feared that the people were dying from a thirst for sermons, “suffering a drought of sermons, when no one teaches them, no one exhorts them” (this was not much of a reflection on Italy).⁵⁹ Although not every congregation may have shared these opinions, they were deeply rooted among the clergy, whether Catholic or Donatist. Preaching was not optional.

Aside from a few examples, there is a woeful lack of evidence for the day-to-day activities of the bishops of the smaller North African dioceses. Nevertheless, the hagiographical literature and the example of Fussala suggest that the congregations at their cathedrals were more likely to include farmers, *coloni*, and other humble folk than was the cathedral of Hippo. To avoid endangering their own salvation and the respect of their colleagues, bishops needed to preach to these congregations (or have someone else preach), especially on Sundays, holy days, and the period of catechumenical instruction (i.e., Lent). And if Asclepius, Voconius, and Cerealis were at all representative, the favored themes of village preachers were the same as their urban brethren—polemics against heretics.

Because of the nature of the surviving evidence, we know more about the preaching of urban bishops in the countryside than about the preaching of rural bishops. Augustine's letters and sermons allow us to glimpse some of the routine episcopal visits to parishes. He and the bishop of the *castellum* Siniti consecrated a *memoria* at the *fundus* Zubedi near the *castellum* Fussala, at the request of Zubedi's landlord.⁶⁰ Soon after his ordination as bishop in 395, Augustine toured the *saltus* Hispansiensis and other estates in the area in the company of the landlords.⁶¹ Part of the reason for this visit seems to have been to reconcile *coloni* who had come over from the Donatists (the reconciliation of penitents was reserved to bishops).⁶² Augustine visited the church of Subsana when its priest had allowed a *lector* to become a subdeacon (of another diocese) against Augustine's will.⁶³ At Un-apompei, he met with a legation from a neighboring rural community that was petitioning for its own priest.⁶⁴ These stray references represent what must have been a steady round of consecrating rural churches, settling clerical misdeeds, and receiving new converts.

On some of these occasions, Augustine took the opportunity to preach directly to rural congregations. Augustine preached three sermons, one of which survives (*Sermo Guelferbitanus* 32), when he ordained a bishop to a community previously without one, possibly the *castellum* Fussala or Gilvensis.⁶⁵ In the early fifth century, at the *castellum* Siniti, Augustine preached an anti-Donatist sermon "On the Two Women Disputing about the Child," which has not survived.⁶⁶ His theme was well chosen: the Catholics and Donatists had been fighting over the *castellum* like the women over the baby. Augustine could have made much of the Donatists' willingness to inflict violence on the baby / *castellum*, instead of preserving its physical integrity, and therefore its life.⁶⁷ Augustine preached a sermon on patience to the congregation of Tuneba, an unidentified, apparently Punic-speaking community.⁶⁸ Much of the sermon is devoted to explaining why the poor should not envy the rich. The pauper should not say, "Lord, free me," with the hope of being freed from poverty.⁶⁹ Since no one is happy in this world, all must work to achieve patience (*tolerantia*). The rich often have reason to envy the poor—for "good health is the patrimony of the poor man."⁷⁰ After all, Peter was a pauper, while the rich man Zacchaeus had to give up his wealth for happiness.⁷¹ We can only guess at the internal tensions of Tuneba that required this sermon.

When Augustine deposed the priest of the parish Membliba, he sent a priest Restitutus to speak to them and to read aloud his own letters.⁷² One of these survives, as *Epistula* 18* in the new letter collection. A third of the letter is taken up with an agricultural metaphor explaining why the people of Membliba should not despair of the church because their first Catholic priest had not worked out:

Are people reluctant to sow because not all the seeds sprout? Some the ants carry off, others the birds gather, others perish due to various misfortunes. Or are they reluctant to plant fruit trees because not all last or come to fruit? The shoots of some wither, cattle eat up others, others die for various reasons. In the same way, we don't give up on the church, just as with the field of a mighty *paterfamilias*.⁷³

This was not how Augustine usually spoke at Hippo. From this letter and the sermon at Tuneba, we can see that Augustine was capable of modifying his metaphors and themes to suit a rural audience. In doing so, he followed his own advice: as he wrote in *De catchizandis rudibus*, “It matters a lot . . . whether a few or many are present, educated or uneducated, and whether a mixture of both genders, whether urban or rustic, or both of these together, whether the congregation has been welded together from every kind of human being.”⁷⁴

The question, as always, is whether Augustine was typical in his treatment of his parishes or unusually conscientious. Augustine's Donatist rival at Hippo, Macrobius, also preached to rustics, although not very successfully. He had a sermon delivered to circumcellions in Punic in an effort to restrain their violence, with the result that they marched out of church ready to spill even more blood (Augustine was offended that Macrobius did not wash the pavement after they left, as he did when Catholic clerics entered his *basilica*).⁷⁵ The provincial primates, who traveled to approve new ordinations, had the opportunity to address many congregations other than their own. Aurelius of Macomades, an aggressive and fiery speaker who irritated his fellow Catholics almost as much as he irritated the Donatists, became primate of Numidia by the 420s. Fluent in Punic, he spoke in church to *coloni* at the *fundus* Thogonoetum in order to resolve their objections to their bishop Antoninus. They, after shouting at him, also marched out of the church in disgust.⁷⁶ He undertook a similar mission to the large estate (*possessio*) Vegesela in central Numidia.⁷⁷ The Vegeselans had managed to obtain the general African (not Numidian) church council's approval to depose their bishop.⁷⁸ Aurelius was traveling there, presumably to perform necessary religious services, but a neighboring priest feared that he would “disturb and corrupt the people of God” during his visit, probably meaning that he might try to persuade them to restore their bishop.⁷⁹ The priest tried to persuade Augustine to write a letter to the Vegeselans against any such attempt, to be read aloud to them by the priest. This last example suggests why bishops did not always find rural audiences ready to hang on their every word: priests had often gotten there first.

The Donatist schism encouraged many bishops to address personally the villages and estates of their diocese, either in an attempt to steal a parish or to hold one. Neighboring bishops had competed for the loyalty of border parishes even without the schism. In 345 C.E., the bishop of Maginensis complained about his neighbor Optatianus traveling around to parishes

(*plebes*) formally attributed to Maginensis, and “inciting” the congregations against him. The bishop of Carthage was outraged that bishops were thus trying to corrupt “the minds of ignorant people.”⁸⁰ Both of these bishops were Catholics. The Donatist schism made such events common. Possidius, the Catholic bishop of Calama between 405 and 408, tried to preach in his Donatist rival’s parishes. He had failed to convince his rival, Crispinus, to publicly debate him, so Possidius took his cause directly to the *plebes*. As Augustine wrote, “What else were we doing when one of us, the bishop Possidius of Calama, went to the *fundus* Figuliensis, except to visit the few of ours who were there and to convert those who wished to the unity of Christ by hearing the word of God?”⁸¹ Possidius admitted his provocative role a little more openly: “He would visit a parish of the church of Calama, pertaining to his own care, and preach what he had learned for the peace of the church against that heresy.”⁸² Not surprisingly the Donatist priest objected to Possidius’s visit to Figuliensis and ambushed him on the road before he could deliver his sermon.

Such voluntary efforts by bishops to convert Donatist parishes became obligatory after the Council of 411. Catholic bishops could suffer excommunication for neglecting to convert Donatists in the parishes of their dioceses. To prevent violence, magistrates or imperial *executores* were supposed to escort the Catholic clerics to the *loca* so that they could communicate the decisions of the council.⁸³ The Catholic bishops used a combination of threats, sermons, and readings from the councils to persuade local congregations. Augustine wrote a long summary of the Council of 411 to be read out in church. In one of his new letters, he encourages the bishop of the otherwise unknown parish, Abensis, to have his *lectores* read this summary out to newly regained churches, kindly allowing the people to sit down while listening.⁸⁴ The point of these efforts was to end the schism, if possible, by persuasion, instead of force. As Augustine wrote in *Epistula* 28*, the people of Abensis ought to be converted “not merely by the fear of earthly troubles, but also by the fear of eternal fire and the love of truth.”⁸⁵ The same theme appears in an anonymous North African letter falsely attributed to Sulpicius Severus.

This letter, Pseudo-Sulpicius’s *Epistula* 4, describes the successful efforts of a North African cleric at converting rustics. C. Lepelley has persuasively argued that the same North African landlord wrote both *Epistula* 4 and the indubitably North African letter, Pseudo-Sulpicius’s *Epistula* 6 (*Ad Salvium*). In *Ad Salvium*, a landlord near Matar (Proconsularis) was attempting to protect his *coloni* from the exactions of a minor official.⁸⁶ In *Epistula* 4, he was writing to a cleric (probably a bishop), praising him for persuading rustics.⁸⁷ *Epistula* 4 does not mention the Donatists directly and may have been referring to conversion to Christianity from paganism. However, a sentence at its end about preventing confused minds from “believing unjust things with a few” (cum paucis iniusta sentire) makes more sense in the

context of the schism (the argument that one should agree with the majority rather than the few was typical of polemics against the Donatists). The main theme of the letter was how miraculous it was that the addressee had converted rustics through exhortation, rather than “terrores.”⁸⁸ This would not have been so difficult if he had been preaching to the educated, who were naturally inclined toward understanding. But “rusticity” does not move swiftly to belief.⁸⁹ Leading “unlearned” minds to see reason is even more marvelous than a sculptor creating images of living beings from the hardest stone. He would deserve high praise for making crude and agrarian consciousness perceive human affairs, much less divine: “quod inpolitos agrestesque sensus, culpae caligine liberates, et humana sentire feceris, et divina cognoscere” (Ps.-Sulp. Sev. *Epist.* 4, p. 252) This letter captures as well as anything the novelty of Christian preaching in the countryside. To the amazement of a well-educated landlord, brutish rustic minds were learning to understand reason. The sort of intellectual discourse previously reserved for the educated was being attempted on estates. His surprise was equal to looking at a block of stone and recognizing a human face.

The examples of the bishop near Matar, Aurelius, Macrobius, Possidius, and Augustine himself show that some urban bishops did indeed venture outside their *cathedrae* in order to preach to rural populations. Through translations or by simplifying their style, they found ways of overcoming linguistic barriers, although perhaps not other barriers. Despite Pseudo-Sulpicius’s comparison of rustic minds to stones, the greatest difficulty these bishops encountered was not blank incomprehension, but vocal disagreement—for example, the tenants of the *fundus* Thogonoetum shouting to the primate their right to reject his choice of bishop, or the circumcellions marching out of Macrobius’s church in opposition to his pacifist preaching. For these reactions, bishops were indebted to the efforts of a lower order of men, the rural clergy, who more than anyone else were responsible for communicating the new faith to the North African countryside.

Services Led by Rural Clergy

The personal visits of bishops to their parishes left strong impressions on contemporaries but were not the most important means of clerical communication in the large dioceses. Urban bishops depended on the rural clergy for the transmission of the basic texts of the new faith. Some estates and villages had their own priests. Others depended on priests from neighboring communities, or even deacons. The social origin of these clerics was often as humble as their parishioners—some had been born *coloni*.⁹⁰ Whether in episcopal poorhouses or grammar schools, they had become literate. Rural clerics received letters from bishops like Augustine and read them aloud (sometimes in Punic translation) to the people.⁹¹ They wrote letters in the name of their congregations.⁹² They increasingly involved

themselves in the secular written transactions of their communities: in the Albertini Tablets, the priest of a *fundus* witnessed sales of olive groves for Mancian tenants.⁹³ And on a more regular basis they performed their primary duty, reading and explaining the scriptures.

One sign of the importance of public reading of scripture in the parishes is the vehemence with which North African bishops competed for readers (*lectores*). Epigonius of Bulla Regia brought the bishop of Vazari before the general church council for stealing his *lector* (a pauper he had raised in his own church) from the *fundus* Mappaliensis.⁹⁴ Augustine made a similar complaint about the bishop of Milev. Sometime before 402 C.E., a man named Timotheus had served as *lector* in at least three rural communities in the diocese of Hippo. Augustine objected when Severus, the Catholic bishop of Milev, made him a subdeacon without Augustine's approval:

I leave my case for your judgment, brother Severus . . . whether a man, who had already begun to read in a church recognized to be in my dispensation, and had read not once, but again, and even three times at Subsana and in the company of the priest of Subsana both at Turres and at Cizau, and at Verbalis, would he not have been and ought to be judged a *lector*?⁹⁵

From this passage, we learn that the priest of Subsana and the *lector* were performing services at the parish Subsana and at its neighboring villages—Turres, Cizau, and Verbalis.⁹⁶ Augustine was himself accused of stealing *lectores*. He had with him at Hippo a man, Privatius, whom the priest Quintianus of the estate and diocese Vegesela considered his own cleric. Augustine responded that he doubted Privatius could be a *lector* when all he had done was once read out to the people noncanonical scriptures. Augustine added that Quintianus should stop reading such texts in church, especially since the Manichaeans were known to be subverting “ignorant minds” in the countryside near Vegesela.⁹⁷ There was such competition for these humble readers because of the difficulty of finding literate men who could speak the native language of the countryside (and thus translate as well as “read” the scriptures). Once a bishop had invested the time in training such a *lector*, he was reluctant to give him up.

Some scholars have questioned whether the clerics of parishes were allowed to instruct the people, rather than merely read aloud the scriptures.⁹⁸ Sufficient examples survive from North Africa to suggest that priests preached, as long as they had their bishop's approval. When Augustine sent the priest Restitutus to Membliba after Augustine had deposed Membliba's own priest, Restitutus was more than a mouthpiece for Augustine. He made several trips to Membliba and was given freedom to console the people “as the Lord gave to him.”⁹⁹ When the priest Quintianus of the estate Vegesela asked Augustine to write an episcopal letter to be read aloud to his congregation, Augustine refused (it was not his diocese) but considered it permissible that the priest himself communicate Augustine's opinion to the

plebs.¹⁰⁰ When Augustine was a priest himself, he traveled to Thiava, a parish that would later get a bishop, to hold a debate with the Donatists.¹⁰¹ Similarly, when the Donatists rebaptized the Catholic deacon of the *villa* Mutugennensis, Augustine, still a priest, traveled there. He wished to have read aloud to the people letters both by him and by the Donatist bishop so that the people could learn the difference between Catholic and Donatist attitudes toward rebaptism.¹⁰² In places where the other sect controlled the holy places, priests could do little more than preach. Augustine appointed “house” priests in Donatist villages. Regarding the *castellum* Siniti, he commented: “Why else had we sent a priest to Siniti, except so he could visit our people, molested by no one, and preach to those wanting the catholic peace while placed in a house in his own possession?”¹⁰³ This priest was nevertheless expelled by the Donatists, who had a bishop at Siniti. In the late fifth century, the Arian priest of the *fundus* Gabardilla in the diocese of Sicca Veneria preached his Arian “perfidy” with some success before the arrival of the monk Fulgentius (not yet bishop of Ruspe), who began to preach in competition.¹⁰⁴ Ferrandus’s *Breviary* of canons assumed that priests had the job of preaching: priests (*presbyteres*) who sacrificed to idols and then repented kept their priestly dignity but were no longer allowed to sacrifice or to preach (“nec sermonem faciat”).¹⁰⁵

When priests were in short supply, deacons sometimes taught local congregations. This is best known for the instruction of catechumens. In at least some cases, deacons also presided over formal services, not merely private readings. We learn from the Council of Arles in 314, which was gathered to settle the affairs of the African church, that deacons were performing the sacraments in many places, which was forbidden.¹⁰⁶ In the community Malliana in Mauretania Caesariensis, a subdeacon was teaching Manichaean heresy in the early fifth century.¹⁰⁷ The deacon Gitta of the parish Unapompei in the diocese of Hippo traveled “out of the necessity of his office” to the neighboring Membliba, sufficiently often in fact to become its choice of priest.¹⁰⁸ He associated with the female celibates (*sanctimoniales*) at Membliba (which lost him his ordination in the end). The clerics accused of leading the circumcellions were deacons or subdeacons—for example, a previously Catholic subdeacon in the *saltus* Spaniensis who joined the circumcellions along with his following of *sanctimoniales* (his *concolonae*).¹⁰⁹ Whether by teaching catechumens or leading services, these deacons were creating groups of religiously minded rustics in the countryside. As with *lectores*, subdeacons and deacons were sometimes trained in the urban cathedrals. One of Augustine’s new letters discusses a certain Donantius from Suppa, whose father (like Antoninus of Fussala’s father) had entered the poorhouse at Hippo. He became a deacon for the small town Thagura in Numidia, without Augustine’s permission, and now that Augustine had got him back, the Suppenses wanted him to serve as their deacon.¹¹⁰ Rather than despising the humble birth of such clerics, North African bishops

regarded it as an asset. With the Christian education that the episcopal church could provide, they became the perfect translators of the new Christian learning to the countryside.

The rural clergy had the double duty of teaching in their own right and communicating the views of their bishops (as expressed to them orally or by episcopal letters). Their importance can be judged by the fierce competition for their services, a competition expressed not only in Augustine's letters, but at the church councils.¹¹¹ These clerics were responsible not only for transmitting texts from the urban cathedrals to the parishes, but also for transferring their training to other dioceses. Small dioceses like Suppa or Vazari acquired deacons trained at Hippo or Bulla. These men of humble origin but good education helped build the common Christian culture of North Africa.

As we have seen, the words of the Christian clergy penetrated more deeply into the ancient countryside than they have often been given credit for. The bishops of villages and estates were expected to preach, and even urban bishops visited their rural parishes. To be sure, bishops encountered difficulties—rustics whose main language was either not Latin or a hybridized form of Latin like that of the Albertini Tablets. Nor were all bishops as willing as Possidius to risk assault by hostile priests in order to preach to *coloni*. By the early fifth century, however, Catholic bishops could be excommunicated for neglecting their parishes. The settlement of the Donatist schism involved communication of the decisions of the council, personal visits by bishops to ordain new clergy, and no doubt the discovery that Donatism was the least of problems in some rural communities. Because of the competition between sects and the existence of clerics able to translate the words of bishops like Augustine into a form comprehensible to farmers, North African preachers spoke to a wider audience than just the upper ranks of Roman society. The harder question to answer is what they were saying.

WHAT SURVIVES: THE ANONYMOUS NORTH AFRICAN SERMONS

Even if it is admitted that Christian clerics were preaching to North Africans at a very local level, there remains the problem of knowing the content of their preaching. North Africa has left behind a rich body of Christian texts by known authors, but little of it counts as popular ecclesiastical literature, the stuff read aloud to congregations. The best-attested North African preacher other than Augustine is Quodvultdeus, the bishop of Carthage (437–39), with a paltry thirteen sermons (not all of which are considered genuine). For Fulgentius of Ruspe, famous for his sermons, only eight authentic sermons have survived. For Optatus of Milev, only one.¹¹² As for the biblical

commentaries (*tractatus*), which were read aloud in serial form, Verecundus's *Commentarii super cantica ecclesiastica* is the only non-Augustinian commentary directed at a lay audience. Without Augustine's sermons, the preaching at urban North African cathedrals would remain mysterious. For the countryside, this is even more the case. Aside from the two examples by Augustine quoted above, no surviving sermons are known to have been preached by a bishop to a rural community.¹¹³

What has survived is a large number of anonymous sermons, treatises, and biblical commentaries attributed to Cyprian, Augustine, Fulgentius, John Chrysostom, or to no one in particular. Patristic scholars have studied these texts with the object of proving or disproving their attribution. In the process, they have noticed those that used a North African scriptural tradition and therefore were likely to have been by other North African authors, although for reasons of style or theology not by Cyprian or Augustine.¹¹⁴ The study of the pseudepigraphal works has seldom gone beyond the search for attribution; questions of audience or historical import have been assumed to depend on this. The implicit assumption has been that anonymous texts were written by the same sort of people whose works have survived—well-educated urban bishops like Augustine, Optatus, and Quodvultdeus. This may be true for most types of ancient literature, but sermons were different from other literature. They were collected and transmitted with a utilitarian purpose in mind. There was not much prestige in writing them—the *De viris illustribus* of Gennadius lists sermons last of an author's works, if at all. Moreover, the original context in which they were preached is not as important as their subsequent reuse. Sermons were collected for the clerics who for lack of education, confidence, or authority did not compose their own. In order to understand their audience, we have to consider their liturgical purpose, subsequent reuse, and later transmission, in addition to their original authorship.

First, it would be useful to consider the sort of North African authors whose works made it outside Africa. In the late fourth century, Jerome noticed mainly the expatriates and polemicists in his list of famous men, including Arnobius of Sicca, Lactantius, Fortunatianus (an "Afer" who had become bishop of Aquileia), Victorinus (an African-born rhetorician at Rome), Optatus of Milev, and Donatus (the namesake of the Donatist schism).¹¹⁵ The treatises of Arnobius, Lactantius, Victorinus, and Optatus have survived; the sermons and treatises of Donatus have not, nor have the scriptural commentaries of Fortunatianus (whose popularity would not have been increased by Jerome's comments on his style).¹¹⁶ *De viris illustribus*, compiled by Gennadius of Marseilles and his successors between 470 and 505 C.E., recorded more mundane North African writers, the authors of sermons, advice books, letters, and rules. Among the North Africans of the fourth century were Vitellius, Macrobius, and Tyconius (all Donatists). According to Gennadius, Vitellius was a Donatist African who lived under Constans and wrote excellent doctrine as long as he was not speaking about "us" (the

Catholics). His works included polemics against the pagans and advice on ecclesiastical discipline.¹¹⁷ Macrobius was first a priest of “ours” in North Africa and later the Donatist bishop of Rome. When still a priest, he composed a book for confessors and virgins with much excellent advice on keeping chaste.¹¹⁸ Among the fifth-century authors were the bishops Asclepius, Victor of Cartenna, Voconius of Castellnum, Honoratus of Cirta, Cerealis of Ripensis, Eugenius of Carthage, and, last, the priest Pomerius, a Moor who immigrated to Gaul (and who may have helped compile the list). Asclepius, a bishop of a rural community in the territory of Vaga, wrote against the Arians and Donatists and was known for his teaching.¹¹⁹ Victor of the port city Cartenna produced a book against the Arians, a book on penitence (which has been transmitted under Ambrose’s name), a *libellus* on the resurrection, and many homilies, which according to Gennadius were “preserved in digested form in books by brothers solicitous for their own salvation.”¹²⁰ Voconius, the bishop of a *castellum* in Mauretania, wrote against the Jews, Arians, and other heretics and also composed a sacramentary.¹²¹ Honoratus of Cirta wrote public letters under Geiseric.¹²² Cerealis composed a short *altercatio* with the Arians that has, surprisingly enough, survived under his own name.¹²³ Eugenius of Carthage, exiled by Huneric, wrote “altercationes” against the Arians, letters about faith and the sacraments, and prayers for Christian peace.¹²⁴

In this list, we glimpse what ordinary North African bishops were transmitting to Gaul by the late fifth century: public letters and fictitious debates (*altercationes*) against heretics and Jews, sermons on morality and the sacraments, and liturgical prayers. Some of the bishops writing them—Asclepius, Voconius, and Cerealis—presided over humble places, *castella* or *vici*; others, like Eugenius and Honoratus, were bishops of provincial capitals. Except for a handful of treatises (Tyconius’s *Regula* and fragments of his Apocalypse commentary, Victor of Cartenna’s *De paenitentia*, Cerealis’s *Contra Maximinum Arianum*), their works have been lost. The very ordinariness of the fifth-century North African texts in Gennadius’s library probably had to do with the emigration of North African clerics during the Arian persecutions. The Moorish priest Pomerius, who came to Gaul shortly before the compilation of Gennadius’s treatise (and whose own entry in that work was unusually long), may have had something to do with the inclusion of the Moors Voconius, Victor, and Cerealis.¹²⁵ The works of ordinary North African bishops made their way out of Africa in the fifth century because ordinary North African clerics did, some with their sermonaries in hand.¹²⁶

It is unlikely that the works of Asclepius or Voconius will ever be recovered, but comparable work by other North African bishops may survive among the pseudopatristic texts. The first difficulty is of course proving that these texts are North African. Sometimes internal references to places or people make a North African provenance certain, as in the case of the *Altercatio Pascasii*, which mentions the barbarians in Africa and mockingly

quotes Vandal speech.¹²⁷ More often a North African origin has been deduced from the manuscript tradition (i.e., the company of known North African texts), the version of the liturgy, or the translation of the Old Latin Bible. The Latin translations of the Septuagint varied both regionally and chronologically between the third and sixth centuries (by which point most clerics had adopted some form of Jerome's Vulgate). This is particularly true for the books of the Old Testament. Recent critical editions of the *Vetus Latina* have made it easier to determine whether anonymous texts were using an "African" or "European" scriptural tradition.¹²⁸ Over the next decade, further critical editions will continue to expand the number of anonymous texts that can be placed in a rough regional and chronological context. In the meantime, scholars must rely on Sabatier's eighteenth-century Old Latin Bible, Jülicher's editions of the Gospels, and time-consuming computer searches of the *Patrologia latina* and *Corpus christianorum, Series latina* for scriptural parallels.¹²⁹ I have used these tools to suggest a probable North African origin for several longer works, in particular, a Pseudo-Origenian commentary on Job.¹³⁰

Individual sermons, however, are often too short to provide sufficient scriptural quotations for convincing analysis (especially when they quote only the New Testament and Psalms). Therefore it is important to identify groups of sermons with common authorship, or at least a common transmission. Codicological work on medieval and Renaissance homiliaries has led to the most dramatic discoveries. François Leroy has argued convincingly that sixty catechetical sermons in a fifteenth-century manuscript of Vienna were written by a Donatist bishop of early fifth-century North Africa, some of whose sermons were previously known as the Escorial collection.¹³¹ Although many of the sermons had already been published under the name of John Chrysostom and John the Deacon, Leroy's proposal of a common (and Donatist) authorship has made them an important new source for historians.

A second, new Donatist collection is the so-called Donatist Compendium, a disparate group of texts whose common transmission and Donatist origin have been identified by Richard Rouse and Charles McNelis. These texts were not sermons, but rather reference works to assist in the composition of sermons as well as exegesis. They include lists of allegorical interpretations of biblical names, a collection of prophecies, and genealogies of biblical figures. The compendium was probably compiled by Donatist clerics in the late fourth or early fifth century C.E.¹³²

A group of fifteen Easter sermons with a North African biblical tradition and similar style appears in a twelfth-century manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 175) under the name of John Chrysostom. This group, known as the *Collectio Armamentaria* or the Latin Chrysostom, was also incorporated into a ninth-century homiliary (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 3828), in the company of other North African sermons.¹³³ Their Catholic author appears to have been writing during the

Vandal invasion.¹³⁴ At about the same time, another Latin Chrysostom grouping, the Wilmart collection of thirty-eight sermons, appears to have been compiled in the Carthage region. Some of these sermons actually were Latin translations of Chrysostom (or what was thought to be Chrysostom), but others were Latin originals. The whole collection was arranged in liturgical order, arguably the earliest example of this in the West.¹³⁵

The most extensive North African collection is the eighty sermons falsely attributed to Fulgentius of Ruspe but thought to be compiled by some other North African bishop writing in Carthage under the Vandal kings.¹³⁶ In a masterful analysis of the manuscript tradition of this collection, Réginald Grégoire has proposed that one manuscript transmits the sermons in their original North African order (making this the only North African collection for which this is the case).¹³⁷ The compiler of the collection included a preface, which, although silent about name and place, does indicate that he was a bishop filling in for another bishop (i.e., as *visitor*), that he expected his sermons to be read out by priests (which implies a large diocese), and that he feared the congregation might despise his “*parvulam rudemque facultatem*.”¹³⁸ This last statement may not have been entirely traditional Christian humility. The style of these sermons suggests an author who had learned to write from the scriptures, not in the secular schools, and who was more comfortable with metaphors about agriculture than about the law courts.¹³⁹ This may be a collection put together for the clergy of the vast diocese of Carthage during the exile of their bishop (perhaps between 439 and 456 or 496 and 505).¹⁴⁰

There are three other homiliaries that may derive from Vandal North Africa, although the original order of the sermons has not been maintained. Seven sermons in a fifteenth-century manuscript from Olomouc display numerous similarities to Augustine, Fulgentius of Ruspe, and the Pseudo-Fulgentian homiliary. A number of passages seem aimed against the Arians.¹⁴¹ Portions of the Carolingian homiliary of Mondsee appear also to date to the milieu of Fulgentius of Ruspe (early sixth century).¹⁴² The thirty sermons of the Morin collection, with their heavy debt to Augustine and anti-Arian tone, may have come from the same milieu, although there are some hints that they were written in southern Italy, perhaps by a North African bishop who was in exile in Italy during the late fifth or early sixth century.¹⁴³

In addition to forming part of these purely African collections, North African sermons made their way into early medieval homiliaries, in the company of other patristic texts. Four of the most important collections are Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS lat. 3828; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, MS 4096; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS lat. 1616; and the homiliary of Fleury (which survives in multiple manuscripts). Vatican MS lat. 3828 contains a high proportion of Augustinian and anonymous North African sermons, including the *Collectio Armamentaria* and three sermons also found in the Pseudo-Fulgentian

collection. It is thought to be based on an originally North African collection.¹⁴⁴ Wolfenbüttel MS 4096, from ninth-century Germany, is a homiliary of Augustine's sermons, perhaps compiled by Caesarius of Arles in the sixth century for the use of his diocesan clergy.¹⁴⁵ Of its ninety-five sermons, seventy-three are Augustine's (thirty-four of which are found only in this manuscript), eight are by non-Africans (one each by Jerome and Maximus of Turin; six by Caesarius), and fourteen appear to be by other North African bishops (one or two by Quodvultdeus, one by Optatus of Milev, and the rest anonymous).¹⁴⁶ Scholars believe that Caesarius may have reedited a North African collection. The late eighth- or early ninth-century homiliary in Vienna MS lat. 1616 contains a significant proportion of North African sermons, some probably from the Vandal period.¹⁴⁷ The homiliary of Fleury, compiled in Gaul during the mid-eighth century, contains a more diverse mix—thirty-five sermons by Augustine, twenty by unknown North Africans, one by Optatus of Milev, and twenty to twenty-five by authors from different regions.¹⁴⁸ Homiliaries of the eleventh through fifteenth century have also transmitted North African sermons, although these collections tend to contain a greater regional and chronological range. Eleventh-century homiliaries of Monte Cassino, especially Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia, MSS 12, 17, 104, 106, and 109 are rich sources for Pseudo-Augustinian sermons with African biblical traditions. These were edited by A. B. Caillau and B. Saint-Yves (= *S. Cai.*) and are reprinted in volume 2 of the *Patrologia latina, Supplementum*.¹⁴⁹ Recent catalogues by Iohannis Machielsen, Hermann Frede, and Eligius Dekkers have summarized the scholarship on these and other anonymous Latin sermons, making it easier to identify potentially North African texts.¹⁵⁰

The anonymous North African sermons, commentaries, and treatises that lie hidden in medieval homiliaries and among pseudopatristic texts, potentially number in the thousands. The bibliography lists only those that have merited scholarly attention, a total of 381 sermons and 39 other Christian texts whose manuscript tradition or version of the Latin Bible suggests a North African origin. Dating such anonymous texts is a risky business. The majority appear to be using a post-Cyprianic *Vetus Latina*, suggesting composition in the fourth or fifth century (by the mid-sixth century, North African authors like Primasius had by and large adopted the Vulgate). From contextual clues, the major sermon collections (the Escorial, Armamentaria, and Pseudo-Fulgentian) appear to date from the late fourth to late fifth century. There are of course exceptions at both ends of this spectrum—a few Pseudo-Cyprianic works may be pre-Constantinian,¹⁵¹ and some sermons and treatises may date to the Byzantine period.¹⁵² Most Byzantine texts are likely to be left out of the list entirely, because their scriptural tradition is almost indistinguishable from that of European authors. At present, the chronology of identifiably North African texts is not dissimilar from what Gennadius had in his library, a few from the third century, a fair handful (especially Donatist)

from the fourth century, and a greater number from the fifth century, especially from the decades just before and just after the Vandal conquest.

JUDGING THE AUDIENCE OF ANONYMOUS NORTH AFRICAN TEXTS

The anonymous North African texts augment the number of ecclesiastical witnesses and allow scholars to read the words of Donatists and Arians in addition to the Catholics.¹⁵³ Yet what is to say that they were any more “popular” than Augustine’s sermons and commentaries? Many of them clearly were not. For example, *De sobrietate et castitate*, a Pseudo-Augustinian treatise or sermon directed at women, assumed an urban, propertied audience.¹⁵⁴ It tells women who have vowed chastity not to wander the city streets (*plateae*) or watch the public games. Women should refrain from investing their money with usurers or boasting about their noble birth and wealth.¹⁵⁵ The finale of the treatise reads like one of Juvenal’s satires: a drunken *materfamilias* lies prostrate on the floor of her beautiful home, laughed at by her children and slaves, while her husband wishes he were dead.¹⁵⁶ The author of this text was speaking to the wealthy and had adopted the style of a good rhetorician to do so. Very different was the Pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo Cai.* II.1, on the fall of man. Its author held up Adam and Eve as an example of how “simple people” (*simplices homines*) could be deceived by evil persuasion (his audience was having doubts about the virgin birth).¹⁵⁷ He expected his listeners’ possessions to consist of cattle, goats, and sheep, which his audience was responsible for feeding and guarding themselves.¹⁵⁸ He expressed the past and future blessings from God in terms of spontaneous water from rocks (instead of the wells they had to dig), flowing milk and honey (instead of the cows and beehives they had to keep), and clusters of grapes so heavy two men could not carry them.¹⁵⁹ This was a sermon for farmers. The Pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo Guelf.* 3, on the Lord’s Prayer, falls somewhere in between. It compared hearing the Lord’s Prayer to planting seeds. The catechumens were urged to be similar to *rustici*, diligently tending the field of their hearts for the *agricola* God.¹⁶⁰ They should guard against a rocky or thorny field. Thorns were the secular cares for their *familia*, *civitas*, *ager*, *villa*, or house that prevented them from bringing the crop to the *horreum*.¹⁶¹ This simple sermon (which was incorporated into Wolfenbüttel MS 4096) would have suited the congregation of a small *civitas*, whose residents managed their own farms and readily understood the diligence they expected from their rustics.

Sermons like these, which hint at the property and status of the audience, are rare. Most of the anonymous sermons focus on the Bible, which was, after all, their primary purpose. It would be desirable to be able to ascertain from

their style something about their original authors. The ancient stereotype was that humble speakers lacked eloquence and logic, relying instead on scriptural citation and faith. Augustine encouraged his Donatist rival to engage in a public debate with a neighboring rural bishop, Samsucius of Turrensis, a man “unpolished in speech, but learned in true faith” (the Donatist had refused to face Augustine’s suspiciously eloquent tongue).¹⁶² Isidore’s *De illustribus* noted that Cerealis of the *castellum* Ripensis (the one rural bishop whose work has survived under his own name) wrote “not with the arguments of the eloquent but from the testimonies of holy scriptures.”¹⁶³ Cerealis’s short treatise is in fact little more than lists of biblical quotations followed by simple commentary—for example, this passage “on the free power (*potestas*) of the Son”:

In the Gospel he says, “Father, I want to be here, and these men are with me” (John 17.24). He did not say, “I ask.” He did not say in the Gospel to the leper, “I ask,” but “I want to cleanse” (Matt. 8.3). Likewise in the Gospel, to Peter, when he asked him to walk on water, Jesus said, “Come.” He did not beg but said “Come.” Likewise to the Chanaean woman he said, “I have not been sent except to the sheep who frequent the houses of Israel” (Matt. 15.24). The woman was a gentile, but because he wanted to, he granted a *beneficium* and healed her daughter, to whom he had said he had not been sent.¹⁶⁴

Through such scriptural citations and simple language, Cerealis managed to outline the key proofs for the equality of the Father and Son. His style resembled many of the anonymous North African sermons: short, top-heavy with scriptural quotations, and comprehensible. It is tempting to label this the popular style and interpret sermons accordingly.

Yet urban bishops could also preach this way. Well-educated preachers were capable of talking “down” when they needed to (Aurelius of Macomades spoke in Punic to rural congregations, although the records of the Council of 411 show him to have been a Latin orator of no mean ability). Fulgentius of Ruspe, a man whose grandfather had been a consul and who had learned Greek before Latin, was known for his simple preaching to rural audiences.¹⁶⁵ Nor were rural bishops necessarily unpolished in speech. In the religious climate of North Africa, trained rhetoricians could take pride in preaching simply, while the bishops of *castella* were capable of producing (or copying) verbal showpieces for special occasions.¹⁶⁶ The anonymous fifth-century *Contra Felicianum arianum de unitate trinitatis*, a fictitious dialogue between Augustine and the Arian Felicianus, makes it a feature of heresy to demand eloquence and philosophical logic from sermons. The Arian complained that what annoyed him most about Augustine was his tendency when teaching the uneducated (*rudes*) to restrict debate to the “display of testimony” rather than the “rationale of the matters to be understood.” While he admitted this might be necessary for an “unlearned” preacher, who had to depend on other people’s words, he wanted a more philosophic approach from Augustine.¹⁶⁷ This treatise was in fact a vigorous defense of the literalist style. North

African preachers considered it important to be comprehensible.

Rather than attempting to determine the original author or audience of anonymous sermons, it is important to recognize these texts for what most of them are—the remnants of sermon collections, stripped of their original context, shortened, and intended to be reused. The initial impetus for collecting sermons was often use by subordinate clergy within the collector's own diocese. Augustine appears to have edited a simple sermon on the Creed for the priests of his diocese to deliver to catechumens.¹⁶⁸ As discussed above, Pseudo-Fulgentius expected his sermons to be read aloud by priests as well as himself.¹⁶⁹ At the Council of Vaison, Caesarius of Arles had it decreed that the rural clergy would read out the sermons of Augustine and other holy fathers (including Caesarius) if they did not trust their own words.¹⁷⁰ The needs of subordinate clergy may help explain the themes of the anonymous sermons; they tend to be designed for those occasions when the services of the subordinate clergy were most necessary. A host of the anonymous sermons were addressed directly to catechumens or neophytes at various stages in the process of conversion,¹⁷¹ and some sermons with Old Testament themes like the fall of man, the exodus, and Jonah, were probably also *catecheses*.¹⁷² The *Collectio Armamentaria* would have carried a preacher through the demanding Easter week (and despite Curma's visit to Hippo, most parishioners would have stayed at home for Easter). The Pseudo-Fulgentian collection contained the necessary preaching for an entire year, including sermons for catechumens, the major holy days, saints' days (Perpetua, Cyprian, Vincentius), and ordinary Sundays.

In addition to traveling from cathedral to parish, sermons moved between dioceses. Already in the fourth century, sermon writers were mining Cyprian, Tertullian, and Lactantius, especially Cyprian, who inspired Donatists, Catholics, and Arians alike.¹⁷³ Augustine's sermons were widely plagiarized by other North African preachers in the fifth and sixth centuries. Ten of the sermons in the Pseudo-Fulgentian collection are interpolated sermons of Augustine, eleven appear in other homiliaries under Augustine's name, two travel separately under Fulgentius's name, and one actually comes from the Donatist Escorial collection (Pseudo-Fulgentius may have already considered it a translation of John Chrysostom).¹⁷⁴ Fulgentius of Ruspe's sermons were used in church by other *sacerdotes*.¹⁷⁵ Nor should the impact of oral communication by traveling bishops be discounted. When Fulgentius traveled to other dioceses, his fellow bishops made him preach.¹⁷⁶ During the biannual church councils, the bishops from small dioceses had the opportunity to listen to the likes of Augustine (some of them perhaps sharing the opinion of the Donatists at the Council of 411 that the bishop of Hippo did not know the value of brevity). By listening to and borrowing from each others' sermons, North African bishops were creating a common Christian culture, which left its mark in the surviving sermons.

In sum, the original audience of the anonymous North African sermons

was probably mixed, so that some of the sermons were written for the urban elite, some for farmers, and perhaps most for the people in between. The origins of the bishops writing them varied similarly: Gennadius knew of the teachings of rural bishops like Asclepius as well as the homilies of Victor of Carthage. Because of the exile of hundreds of North African bishops in the second half of the fifth century, the works of these ordinary bishops made their way to Italy, Spain, and Gaul in greater numbers than might otherwise have been expected. There is no reason to assume that the anonymous North African texts represent only the works of the important bishops of important cities. Moreover, the reuse of sermons by subordinate clergy and other bishops makes their original audience less important than the reasons for which they were collected. These were utilitarian texts, meant to be diffused.

We have seen that Christian clerics were not merely present in the local communities of late Roman Africa, but preaching to them. As previous scholars have noted, the sermons of urban bishops like Augustine tend to presume an urban, propertied audience, but this does not mean that the preaching of other bishops, or indeed, through indirect means, the preaching of Augustine himself, never went beyond the cities. The bishops of small *municipia*, *castella*, and estates faced a broad social spectrum in their churches and were expected to preach to them. By visiting their parishes and making use of their rural clergy, even urban bishops managed to speak beyond the listeners at their cathedrals. The rural clergy were not, however, the compliant tools of their bishops, but teachers in their own right. Much of the penetration of Christian thought in the North African countryside was due to them.

As for the substance of clerical communication, there was no sharp divide between preaching in cities and preaching in the villages. Rural bishops like Asclepius spoke against the Donatists, just like Augustine. Rural bishops with less confidence in their own abilities preached the same sermons as Augustine, using the copies that were already circulating in the fifth century. Both texts and clerics were mobile. The success of this communication should not be overestimated. Linguistic, cultural, and sectarian divisions in Africa made preaching a difficult and sometimes dangerous task, and no doubt some bishops would have preferred to ignore certain villages. There was the danger, however, that if they failed to communicate, a preacher from the other sect would succeed. Sectarian competition was a powerful impetus to preaching. Using simple language, agricultural metaphors, and vernacular translations where necessary, clerics explained the scriptures to audiences that had seldom had texts explained to them before. The people of a *castellum* might not have understood the subtleties of Augustine's theology (thus putting them in the same company as many of Augustine's fellow bishops), but they understood the literalist Bible stories preached by the run-of-the-mill bishop. Yet communicating the word of God could have consequences that went beyond

what the preachers had originally intended.

which he and later Salvian protested; (3) the appearance of rural movements, frequently millenarian in aim (like the circumcellions) but without trace of real political objectives beyond those attached to the gentry.⁴

According to this scenario, peasant unrest arose in the late empire because elite factionalism had undermined the traditional patronage relations (“moral economy”) between peasants and the local gentry. Peasants responded with irrational violence (“banditry”) or with equally irrational millenarianism. In both cases, their acts were “without a trace of real political objectives,” except when they served as tools for the gentry.

More fruitful would be an approach that sees popular violence not as reactionary, fanatical, mindless riot, but rather as justified, meaningful, structured action, connected to the wider cultural and political developments of the time.⁵ It has been the argument of this book that what really disrupted power structures in the countryside was not opposition movements against the Roman government or reactionary efforts to return to traditional cultural and economic norms, but rather a desire by rural populations to participate in the same material culture, community structures, and intellectual currents as were affecting urban society. Most of these attempts were relatively peaceful, along the lines of a *colonus* putting roof tiles on his small stone farmhouse or joining a delegation to petition that his estate be allowed to elect its own bishop. But, on occasion, a local group might demand something more controversial, such as that the Roman law on debt slavery be respected at their village market or that their daughters and sisters be able to vow virginity without being raped.

To understand how Christian clerics came to be involved in both creating and enforcing these demands, it is helpful to apply the concept “textual community,” developed by Brian Stock in his work on medieval heresy, *The Implications of Literacy* (1987). A textual community was created when people previously dependent on “oral participation in religion” were organized into a group centered on the shared internalization of canonical texts. The frequently illiterate members of such groups didn’t need to have direct access to the texts; they depended on secondary communicators, typically preachers.⁶ The groups Stock was speaking of were relatively small, short-lived congregations in eleventh-century Europe, whose “heresy” regarding such things as the sanctity of marriage resulted from their common reading (or rather hearing) of the scriptures. Under the leadership of their teachers / preachers, these groups began to demand “that society as a whole abandon ‘customary’ principles of moral conduct and adopt a more rigorously ascetic model.” “The inevitable result,” Stock observes, “was conflict, either within religious communities or in society at large.”⁷ The demands were especially disruptive because they came from people who had not previously had access to the written word. The heresy lay not so much in the texts or ideas themselves, but rather in the ability of a previously marginalized group to employ them in their own interests.

Thousands of textual communities were formed in fourth-century North Africa, some under the leadership of bishops (including rural bishops), but more around the rural clergy, who did most of the actual teaching and reading in North African villages and on estates. Congregations of rural men and women gathered around priests, deacons, and vowed virgins. What we know of the leadership of the circumcellions—insofar as they existed as a coherent movement at all—points to such men (and women).⁸ These clerics communicated not only the scriptures, but a heady mixture of saints' lives, apocryphal gospels,⁹ and (especially among the Catholics) imperial law. The inhabitants of villages and estates were exposed to a new Christian discourse of martyrdom and charity as well as an older Roman discourse on protection before the law. It was not just the ideas in the texts that were provocative, but also the technology of literacy. Although late Roman clerics weren't interested in actually teaching peasants to read and write,¹⁰ their presence meant that there were now individuals on estates and in villages who were able to employ documentary forms in the peasants' interest, whether as the priest did on the *fundus* Tuletianos, by drawing up contracts of sale for peasants' olive trees, or as the "circumcellions" were accused of, by issuing documents nullifying the debt contracts of creditors.

OPTATUS AND THE FIRST "CIRCUMCELLIONS"

The destabilizing potential of literacy is discernible in the first narrative of circumcellion rebellion, by the Catholic bishop Optatus of Milev. Optatus was the Catholic bishop of the Numidian town of Milev. He wrote his famous treatise against the Donatists between 364 and 367, at a time when the Catholics were trying to reverse the tolerant policy adopted toward the Donatists by the apostate emperor Julian. The treatise was directed against the Donatist bishop of Carthage, Parmenian, who had composed a series of tracts against the Catholics that were "in the hands and in the mouths of many."¹¹ Optatus's response was both historical and theological. He gave a history of the beginning of the schism that exonerated the Catholics from accusations of handing over the scriptures (*traditio*) during the Great Persecution of 303–4 C.E. He explained why various prophecies and Bible verses could not apply to the Catholics and why the Donatists' schism and rebaptism were more heinous crimes than anything the Catholics had been accused of. And he denied that the Catholics had asked for the military suppression of the Donatists by the imperial commissioners Paul and Macarius in 347 C.E. It was in this last endeavor that Optatus brought in the circumcellions.

According to Optatus, Paul and Macarius's original mission had been the peaceful distribution of charity to the poor, not the suppression of the Donatist sect (Optat. 3.3). Donatus, the bishop of Carthage (and namesake of the Donatist church), ordered all members of his sect to refuse the imperial gifts.

In obedience to his wishes, the bishop of Bagai (a fortified colony in central Numidia) prepared for the commissioners' arrival by summoning "agonistic circumcellions" from the rural marketplaces (*nundinae*) and the villages.¹² When Paul and Macarius arrived, they were attacked by these circumcellions. Only then did they resort to military force. The resulting violence against the Donatists was therefore their just punishment, not persecution.

To make his case, Optatus narrated not only the incident at Bagai but also events a few years earlier in the nearby villages. According to him, two Donatists, Axido and Fasir, had gathered violent mobs of circumcellions to prevent creditors from collecting their debts and to reverse the position between master and slave (Optat. 3.4). In this case, the Donatist bishops themselves had been the ones to call in the imperial military. Under a count Taurinus, the soldiers killed many circumcellions at the *nundinae* "where the fury of the circumcellions was accustomed to gather."¹³ Their bodies were still in Optatus's day venerated as martyrs at the rural shrines.

Although Optatus's account is extremely polemical, the historicity of at least some of these events is confirmed by other texts. The mission of Paul and Macarius is well known from Donatist as well as Catholic sources.¹⁴ The count Taurinus, who put down Axido and Fasir, was listed as a persecutor by the Donatist bishops in 411.¹⁵ Some sort of uprising must have occurred at the *nundinae* near Bagai and at Bagai itself in the 340s C.E. And given Optatus's general veracity and his geographical proximity to Bagai, he can probably be trusted for the basic outline of events, although not for the motivations of the actors.

Axido and Fasir and the Spread of Documentary Culture

Before analyzing these incidents in more detail, it will be useful to ask what the circumcellions, creditors, and slaves would have been doing together at the rural markets (*nundinae*) of fourth-century Numidia.

First, the circumcellions. Circumcellions, at least as Optatus and Augustine used the term, were Donatist peasants who engaged in violence and "insanity" under the guise of seeking martyrdom. It is unlikely that any Donatists actually applied the name "circumcellion" to themselves (just as they never used the derogatory name Donatist).¹⁶ What we find in Donatist sources are preachers encouraging Christians—whether urban or rural—to become confessors and contest seekers (*agonistici*) through martyrdom or asceticism.¹⁷ There were noneconomic reasons why the *nundinae* would have attracted *agonistici*. These periodic rural markets were often located next to temples and scheduled to coincide with pagan festivals.¹⁸ Circumcellions were notorious for seeking martyrdom by interrupting pagan celebrations.¹⁹ In the 340s, they may still have been traveling to the *nundinae* to do so or, given the rapid Christianization of the region, to visit the sites of previous

“contests,” which had already been transformed into martyr shrines, for the eventual result was not to put an end to the *nundinae*, but to Christianize them, replacing fairs associated with non-Christian gods with fairs associated with the saints, often in the same location.²⁰ Whether this had already occurred in mid-fourth century Numidia is unclear (the presence of basilicas in some of these villages makes it a possibility). The important point is that it was natural for the *agonistici* to gather at the *nundinae*. Rural markets had long been sacralized.

Why would such “contests” against paganism have turned into the usurpation of the power to judge between creditors and debtors and masters and slaves, if Optatus is to be believed? To understand this, it will help to know what the creditors were doing at the *nundinae*.

In the background is the ever-present problem of rural debt, which was increasing rather than decreasing in this period of economic growth.²¹ Although it is not the case, as had once been thought, that North Africa was poorer in late antiquity than before (the archaeological surveys suggest the opposite), periods of drought and scarcity were a normal part of the region’s agricultural cycle. Assuming that the climate in the fourth and fifth centuries was roughly similar to today’s climate (and palaeobotanical evidence suggests that it was), farmers of a region like Segermes lost, on average, a wheat harvest every three years and two harvests in a row every seven years.²² And by the fourth century, marginal land in inland Proconsularis, Byzacena, and Numidia was being cultivated as never before. Market crops like olives and wheat had replaced the “diversification of product” that Peter Garnsey has described as one of the primary ancient survival strategies. Farmers were growing an increasingly Roman basket of crops, even when they were not the best choices for the North African environment.²³ A shift away from extensive farming of drought-tolerant crops and animal husbandry toward intensive farming of olives, wheat, and other marketable crops would have produced a “feast” or “fast” economy. In good years, North African farmers were richer than they ever had been (and therefore more attractive to patrons and creditors). In bad, fewer people could fall back on their herds and barley. These are the conditions that foster rural debt.

The urban world had long possessed mechanisms for dealing with the persistent danger of food shortages. The cities elected officials to supervise the collective purchase of food. Some cities distributed free or discounted grain to their citizens (although how frequent this was outside the capitals is unclear).²⁴ “Voluntary” food distributions by decurions from their own property are well attested by North African inscriptions. This in fact became an expected benefaction.²⁵ There were also moral and legal limits on the collection of debts from fellow citizens. Fathers were not allowed to sell their children into debt slavery (although they could indenture their labor). Roman law demanded that creditors follow elaborate procedures for the confiscation of property.²⁶

Whether these legal protections and food distributions (usually limited to the body of male *cives*) solved the problem of urban hunger is debatable; what is clear is that the rural population rarely benefited from them. At the rural markets (*nundinae*), it was a common though illegal practice for creditors to seize the produce peasants had brought to market as partial payment or “pledges” for their debts.²⁷ If peasants had insufficient produce or money to give, the sale of children is well attested, particularly in times of scarcity. Constantine in 322 addressed a rescript to the problem of North Africans selling their children because of hunger. He ordered his officials to distribute food to the hungry, an almost unparalleled instance of imperial food distributions to the general population. Augustine’s letters show that a century later *coloni* were still being sold by their parents, landlords, and even spouses (although not out of hunger, but instead out of an “insane” form of greed). The practice continued under Vandal rule. According to Victor of Vita, when rustics could not pay their debts or feed themselves during a famine, their first step was to attempt to sell their children (and themselves) into perpetual servitude.²⁸ The *nundinae* served as the places for the sale of such slaves.²⁹

Patronage brought gentler forms of exploitation. Through gifts of food or money or protection from creditors and tax collectors, benefactors gained a claim to peasant labor or a specified reimbursement. Augustine preached about a *colonus*, *inquilinus*, or *cliens* who, when he was pressed by a creditor, looked to his patron to assist him. In this case, the patron wanted him to sell his tiny plot of land at a discount in return for the *beneficium* (Augustine did not approve).³⁰ When lay members of the congregation at Hippo took in *coloni* who had been liberated from slave traders, the *coloni* commended themselves to—that is, became the clients of—their benefactors in return for food.³¹ An edict of Honorius in 419 C.E. to a western province protects this sort of dependency. It decreed that landlords or patrons who failed to assist their clients in times of famine had forfeited their rights in favor of those persons who did assist them (unless the original owner paid twice the money spent by the current *possessor*).³² By these means, patrons got a claim not only to labor and land, but also to gratitude. They had done the peasants a favor (*beneficium*).

Many of these methods of debt collection and poor relief were, by a strict interpretation of Roman law, quite illegal. A Roman citizen, even a *colonus*, was not supposed to be sold into perpetual slavery, even by his or her parents, and certainly not taken involuntarily by creditors or landlords (often the same people). *Nundinae* were not to be the place for forcible collection of debts. Patrons (other than landlords) were not supposed to have a claim to peasant labor.³³ Such laws were seldom enforced, at least not to the peasants’ benefit, because of the gentry’s control of the documentary forms of Roman power. But they created the potential for danger, should someone or some group appear in the countryside with the literacy and the influence to enforce the law.

Now let us turn back to Optatus, supplemented by similar instances in Augustine, and try to imagine what Axido and Fasir, the leaders of the *agonistici*, might have been doing at those rural markets in Numidia. It is clear that their main crime was interference with debt collection:

The signatures of debtors lost their value; no creditor at that time had freedom to exact payment; all were terrified by the letters of those who claimed that they were the “generals of the saints,” and if anyone delayed in obeying their commands, an insane mob would suddenly fly up and creditors would be besieged by dangers, terror hastening them, so that those who deserved to be begged for their own gifts, were compelled by fear of death to entreat, humiliated. Each hastened to lose what was owed to him, even large amounts, and counted it a profit to have evaded their attacks. Even the roads were not able to be safe, because masters, struck down from their vehicles, ran along like slaves, in front of their own slaves who were sitting in the place of the masters. By the judgment and *imperium* of those men, the condition between masters and slaves was reversed.³⁴

Axido and Fasir’s formal authority, at least as Optatus portrays it, was nonexistent. Their title “generals of the saints” (*duces sanctorum*) was applied to Christ in an anonymous North African sermon, which also termed him “the liberator of all fleeing to him” and “the murderer of vice.”³⁵ It is not clear what it meant in Optatus’s text, but probably it referred to some sort of self-appointed religious leadership and defense of the poor. Optatus blamed the Donatist bishops for inciting them.³⁶

What is noteworthy in Optatus’s account are the hints that Axido and Fasir were holding what amounted to judicial proceedings in the countryside, and asserting control over documentary procedures to do so. They issued commands (*iussiones*) and made judgment (*iudicium*). They recorded their commands in documents (*litterae*). In good Roman tradition, the creditors were collecting their debts at the village markets, such as the *locus* Octava. If the farmers did not sell enough to pay up, they faced having their families reduced to debt servitude. The creditors arrived with their documents in hand, expecting their debtors to beg for indulgence (“qui pro praestitis suis rogari meruerant”). Instead the creditors found themselves praying for their own safety and being, quite literally, run out of the villages. The documents issued by the *duces* carried more weight than their *chirographa*. The men they had a right to treat as slaves rode their carriages away as free men. Patrons had become supplicants, and Axido and Fasir had become patrons. All of this was, of course, a gross violation of imperial law, but it should be kept in mind that the intended activities of the creditors were likely illegal as well.

Augustine similarly described Donatists holding court in the rural communities, especially in his *Epistula* 185 to the imperial official and later count of Africa Boniface ca. 416/17. To make a case for the continued coercion of the Donatists, Augustine reflected on the days before the emperor had imposed religious unity:

Completely insane flocks of wicked men used to disturb the peace of innocent men in various disputes. What master was not forced to fear his own slave, if [the slave] had fled to their patronage? . . . Who was able to demand anything from any debtor who asked for their aid and defense? Through fear of clubs and fires and imminent death, the ownership deeds of the worst slaves used to be broken so that they could depart free men. The *chirographa* they extorted were returned to debtors.³⁷

As in Optatus, the Donatists (who were not called circumcellions) were freeing slaves and preventing creditors from collecting. The two activities were related; the slaves being freed might have been *coloni* sold by their families or landlords because of debt. As with Axido and Fasir, the Donatists' efforts involved the assertion of control over the documentary forms of Roman power relations: they returned *chirographa* to the debtors and invalidated the ownership deeds of slaves.

We thus find hints in these Catholic accounts of Donatist interference in debt collection that the new religious leaders were initiating the destruction and appropriation of documents. They were probably not attacking the institutions of slavery and debt payment as such, but rather the illegal ways they had been traditionally carried out in the countryside. (This will be more clearly the case when we turn to examples of *Catholics* freeing slaves.) This discussion doesn't, however, help explain why circumcellions would flock to Bagai in order to oppose imperial food distributions or why religious leaders would take it upon themselves to interfere in debt collection in the first place. Also involved are the sermons that redefined traditional relationships with creditors and patrons, making food distributions a form of pollution, and debt slavery a crime—sermons that enjoined, "Forced sales and debtors' notes ought to be invalidated," and proclaimed, "How injurious a trade it is if salvation is sold for food!" Now let us examine this preaching on charity, keeping in mind not how it compared to traditional civic euergetism,³⁸ which the majority of the population had never known, but rather what it would have meant to the inhabitants of a village or estate.

DANGEROUS IDEAS: PREACHING ON CHARITY

North African preachers, like Christian preachers of every age, spent a good deal of time urging their flock to give charity to the poor. Their preaching on charity, however, was as much about detracting from people's gifts as encouraging them. Gifts could be polluted, whether by the expectation that the beneficiary owed something in return, by the unjust origin of the property given, or by the religious affiliation of the giver. The original audience whose behavior these sermons were aiming to reform was, of course, the creditors and patrons. But what impact might these ideas have had on those on the receiving end of the gifts?

It was important to communicate that patronage did not count as charity. A

sermon by Fulgentius of Ruspe warned his congregation not to expect any sort of earthly return for giving *beneficia*, whether praise or more substantial repayment. It matters with what motivation (“quo fine desiderii”) you give charity. For if you do so for “temporal or earthly praise or advantage,” the virtue of the act is lost.³⁹ The timing of this sermon was significant. Like many of North African sermons on charity, it was preached at Lent, the hungry season before the spring harvest, when patrons would have been giving to the needy anyway, in the form of loans, seed grain, food, and debt relief. Such sermons sought to prevent patrons from gaining material advantage from their gifts to the poor.

A sermon of Augustine preached during Easter week explained in more detail what acts no longer merited the description *beneficia*. Christians should certainly give to anyone who sought a loan, but should not charge interest or press debtors who had difficulty paying, “for you have lost the *beneficium*, even if exactly what he is supposed to give back is exacted.”⁴⁰ Perhaps the man you have given a loan has no means to pay it back. You decide not to charge interest, and only demand back the original loan so that God will not judge you a usurer. Then you press the man. By doing so, you have not given him a *beneficium* but rather reduced him to greater straits.⁴¹ But perhaps he does have property—an estate, a house, a *familia*. He should sell them and pay you back. Yet he had sought a loan from you in the first place to avoid selling them.⁴² The only true *beneficium* is a free loan, without interest and without confiscation of property if the debtor fails to pay. This part of the sermon lived long after Augustine, being excerpted into the Pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo* 86 and into the Pseudo-Fulgentian *Sermo* 64.

Some of the anonymous sermons express these ideas more vehemently. A Lenten sermon with a North African biblical tradition explained why it would be better to void contracts that involved forcible sale of property. God will ask, “Why do you fast for me,” when the stomach is empty of bread but the hands are full of blood,⁴³ for, in addition to fasting, God demands that we (in the words of Isaiah) “solve omne vinculum injustitiae,” loosen the obligations of violent sale and iniquitous records. Forced sales and debtors’ notes (“*cautio male conscripta*”) ought to be invalidated.⁴⁴ “All documents which impinge on the salvation of man should be erased.”⁴⁵ The preacher made it clear that the men whose salvation was in danger were the creditors: “Better it is for a *cautio* to be void than that a soul be made sinful.”⁴⁶

The forced sale of property, including human property, that creditors and even patrons demanded from debtors appeared in an ugly guise in these sermons. Preachers celebrated the intervention of the prophet Elisaeus, who saved a widow’s sons from enslavement by her creditors.⁴⁷ In the Pseudo-Fulgentian collection, an Easter sermon for neophytes dramatized the widow’s pleas for her sons as she mourned that creditors should try to make “sons, created in heavenly freedom, subject to their own lust” and that children should be subject to the debts of their fathers.⁴⁸ She looked for charity

(*misericordia*) and found it nowhere except in the prophet Eliseus. These sermons gain interest when it is remembered that one of the chief complaints against the circumcellions was that they freed slaves.

Such preaching showed that charity meant not only giving to the poor, but also avoiding acts that removed people's freedom, food, or dignity. Gifts could not make up for forcible debt collection or other fiscal misdeeds unless the giver first repaid the people he or she had harmed. The figure of Zacchaeus, the "prince of tax collectors" from the Gospel of Luke, was a popular model for the difference between true charity and restitution. One of the Donatist Escorial sermons explained how half of what Zacchaeus distributed was charity to the poor; the rest was merely restoration of goods to their rightful owners. The Gospel had said, "Behold, I will give half of my substance to the poor, and, if I have defrauded anyone of anything, I will restore fourfold."⁴⁹ Zacchaeus had separated his own property from "other people's" (*extraneo*); he divided legitimate inheritance from his loot. The part he gave to the poor counted as *misericordia*; the second part was "plunder redeemed."⁵⁰ Because he had confessed and returned stolen property, he might hope for pardon; because he gave charity, he could expect "gloria."⁵¹ Another North African sermon, Pseudo-Augustine *S. Cai* I.46, possibly using Escorial 40 as a source, referred to Zacchaeus's benefactions in the same way: "He divided his substance into two parts: one part accomplished *misericordia*, the other part was given back to make up for plunder."⁵² The implications were that property acquired unjustly—in Zacchaeus's case, through tax collection—should not be distributed to the poor under the name of charity. One Pseudo-Augustinian sermon takes this to the extreme conclusion that any distribution to the poor might be more properly termed justice than charity. Because God was the true owner of all property, the giver was merely restoring to the poor what was already theirs.⁵³

When preaching about Zacchaeus, Augustine also warned his congregation not to donate to the poor what they had seized from others; attempting to bribe God would only damn them further.⁵⁴ The public claim to restitution that the word "plunder" (*rapina*) implied was, however, absent from Augustine's sermons on Zacchaeus. Zacchaeus had certainly acquired his wealth unjustly. "He was the greatest of the publicans, that is the one to whom public taxes used to be paid, from which he had his riches. He pressed many, he confiscated from many, he accumulated a great deal." But he returned the profits of his tax collection to redeem sin, not theft.⁵⁵ Augustine had not blurred the line between crime and sin, nor (as far as we can tell) did he refuse the gifts of unjust men. The guilt rested on the individual's conscience.

Other bishops actively refused to distribute the gifts of persons involved in usury, grain speculation, tax collection, or aggressive land acquisition. In a sermon on charity (*misericordia*), the Escorial preacher identified the kind of wealth that could not be distributed to the poor:

He is not capable of making *misericordia* who spreading his estates far and wide, does not allow anyone else to possess within their confines, since he merges their boundaries, stretches out their extent, maligns the poor man, oppresses the middle class, excludes his neighbor, and by attacking and persecuting everyone placed around him drives them out; who does not acquire except when another weeps, who does not store up profit except when another groans, to whom alone what is a public misfortune is a good thing, since he either hoards produce or seizes the *annona* or inflates prices or increases interest rates.⁵⁶

When such a man gives to the poor, he makes things worse, letting others walk away with someone else's property, feeding the hungry with a hungry man's bread, clothing the naked with other people's clothing.⁵⁷ A verse in Ecclesiastes applies to him: "He who offers a sacrifice from the substance of a poor man is like the one who sacrifices a son in the presence of his father."⁵⁸ By this bishop's definition, most large landowners in Africa, not to mention merchants and emperors, should not have been giving charity. They first had to make restitution.

This emphasis on the purity of gifts was sufficiently widespread in Africa for Augustine to direct a sermon against it. He argued that those who refused the gifts of sinners were tainted with Manichaeism (modern scholars would probably say Pelagianism).⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the refusal of impure gifts continued well into the Vandal period. An Arian commentary on Job, perhaps written toward the end of Vandal rule, considered only wealth derived from the land and actual labor un-contaminated. Job didn't get his wealth from usury and gold, but from "the threshing floor and press, olive grove, and fig grove, and all works that were in the field, which by labor and sweat and the calluses of hands were acquired with justice."⁶⁰ Rather than profiting from the poor, he worked "to defend the oppressed, to enrich the paupers, to benefit widows and orphans."⁶¹ "And so this praiseworthy man Job had the sort of wealth that was chaste, clean, uncontaminated, pure."⁶² Similar ideas were circulating in much of the late antique Mediterranean, appearing emphatically in a Pelagian treatise, *De vita christiana* (probably by a fifth-century Briton), and entering the Apostolic Constitutions and the so-called Fourth Council of Carthage: "Let priests refuse the gifts of those who oppress the poor."⁶³ These restrictions on what could constitute charity were nothing less than an attack on patronage, as traditionally exercised. Those who did not treat the poor with respect had no right to expect their gratitude.

Not only social injustice but heresy polluted gifts. Unsurprisingly, the North African preachers who spoke most about the need to refuse polluted gifts were those whose sect was out of favor. Donatus of Carthage claimed to be following the example of Daniel in refusing the gifts sent by the emperor Constans. Daniel had faced the lions rather than accept the gifts of Balthassar.⁶⁴ The Donatist Escorial preacher cited both Daniel and the Three Boys of Babylon when warning his congregation about becoming contaminated by heretics' food. These warnings were pointedly directed

against the *traditores* (Catholics) in a sermon on pseudo-prophets.⁶⁵ In a sermon on Jacob and Esau, he preached that it was a bad trade to give up salvation for food: “Grievous is the hunger, which is fed only to destroy you. Pernicious is the hunger, which is removed in such a way that something worse is nourished in a man. How injurious a trade it is if salvation is sold for food, or worthless things are purchased with great ones.”⁶⁶ These sermons may be a reaction against Catholic efforts to convert the Donatist poor by feeding them. The Old Testament figures lauded by the Donatist preachers—the Three Boys and Daniel—were extraordinarily popular in North African representations, urban and rural.⁶⁷

Under Arian rule, Catholics bishops were the ones to speak of corrupting gifts. A sermon attributed to Quodvultdeus warned the congregation about Arians bribing the needy with food: “Do you feed a hungry man so that you may remove heavenly food from his soul?” The Catholic church was the only true mother, and she fed her sons.⁶⁸ Fulgentius of Ruspe, in his *Abecedarium* (a propagandizing poem against the Arians, modeled on Augustine’s *Abecedarium*), complained of heretics seducing the unfortunate with their gifts, promising riches to those they themselves had reduced to poverty. Those who accepted the “*xenia haereticorum*” were in fact receiving the first installments of hell.⁶⁹

In the fourth and fifth centuries, preachers asserted that a range of traditional benefactions to the poor not only failed to deserve the name of charity but were not even *beneficia*. Engaging in usury, debt enslavement, grain speculation, or heresy could make a person a social pariah, polluting everyone he or she touched. Expecting fellow Christians to become one’s clients or worse because of a loan was a form of oppression. Even expecting the poor to debase themselves before you was an insult to God: “If anyone demanded from you all the begging and weeping you desire to exact, wouldn’t you rather perish from want of necessities than beg anyone to their face?”⁷⁰ The tears of the poor were a form of payment; if you demanded them, you weren’t giving a gift but selling your patronage.⁷¹

Of course, patrons were under no compulsion to listen to the preachers and could carry on with business as usual, but they were not the only ones hearing these sermons. The motive for patronage had never been merely to acquire clients or land at bargain prices, but also to gain respect and obedience from subordinates. Sermons could make the poor ungrateful or hostile, leading people to believe that *beneficia* were, at best, an entitlement, and, at worst, a form of tyranny. They also had the potential of encouraging vigilantism, since charity was not merely to avoid but to prevent the oppression of the poor: “Charity is aiding the poor man in every business transaction, ripping the oppressed from the jaws of the powerful, offering comfort to the destitute, protecting orphans, defending widows and virgins.”⁷²

Optatus’s narrative of events at Bagai in 347 shows where such ideas could lead. According to Optatus, the emperor Constans had sent two officials, Paul

and Macarius, to Africa to distribute charity to the poor through the individual churches. Constans, following the policy of toleration that his father Constantine had adopted late in his reign, intended to give to both Catholics and Donatists.⁷³ Paul and Macarius met with Donatus, bishop of Carthage, and explained to him their mission of charity. They were going to travel through the North African provinces and give to any who were willing. Donatus replied that he would send letters ahead of them, to make sure that whatever they attempted to distribute would not be dispensed to the poor.⁷⁴ Optatus pretended not to understand. Why would Donatus prevent anyone from providing for *pauperes* and assisting sinners (the sinner in this case being the emperor, the giver)?⁷⁵

Donatus was as good as his word and warned the other bishops of his party about the imperial distribution. By the time Paul and Macarius reached Bagai, its bishop had already sent heralds through the surrounding *nundinae* to summon circumcellions to Bagai.⁷⁶ It was not, however, to be a distribution by Paul and Macarius, but rather by the bishop himself. He gathered sufficient *annona* for the crowd. As the imperial officials with their military escort approached the town, the clerics distributed the food from the *basilica*, “treating it as though it were public grain house.”⁷⁷ By the time the vanguard of the imperial troops reached Bagai, an angry mob blocked their way. A brief conflict ensued, which the crowd got the worst of. The bishop and many of his followers were killed, to be venerated as martyrs by the Donatist church.

Rather than expressing disappointment at the failure of imperial paternalism, the crowd at Bagai emphatically rejected imperial gifts and preferred those of their bishop. And despite his feigned bafflement, Optatus understood their reasons well enough. He had presented the distributions from Constans in a purely Christian guise, as nothing more than the desire of a Christian to give alms for his own salvation. The rustics at Bagai knew better. Donatus of Carthage had cited the example of Daniel, who chose to face the wild beasts rather than accept gifts from a Gentile king. Their reasons went beyond the scriptures, however, for they were rooted in a long association of food distributions and domination, whereby those who gave also expected to control.

As we have seen, the entry of literate communicators into the countryside could disrupt traditional power relations. Local religious leaders like Axido and Fasir began to usurp the documentary forms of judicial procedure. Christian leaders established networks of communication that could outcompete the imperial government, making it possible for the bishop of Carthage to send letters to a bishop in central Numidia, who could then transmit their substance orally through heralds to the villages. Most importantly, preachers communicated a new discourse of power relations to rival the discourse of patronage and pity that had long governed elite relations with the countryside. Through their sermons, *beneficia* could become obligations or (when the person offering them was not of the correct faith)

pollution. The demands of creditors were reinterpreted as attempts at fraud or enslavement. Peasants, following the example of Daniel, might flock to a town in order to *reject* imperial distributions of food, a strange new form of “moral economy.” The most dramatic instance of what this could lead to was the bishop of Bagai with his circumcellions, battling the imperial legates. On the whole, however, it was the local *conductores*, creditors, and decurions, not imperial officials, who had the most to fear from the annual Lenten sermon on Zacchaeus.

CATHOLIC “CIRCUMCELLIONS”?

The circumcellions have generally been considered a peculiarly Donatist phenomenon,⁷⁸ and the most provocative sermons discussed above were by the Donatist Escorial preacher. The contrast between Donatists and Catholics should not, however, be exaggerated. Donatists and Catholics traded sermons, clerics, and congregations back and forth. The themes discussed above—the definition of true *beneficia* in the Lenten sermons, the Old Testament stories against debt slavery, the sermons on Zacchaeus and Daniel—were preached by both sects. The main reason we don’t hear of Catholic “circumcellions” is probably the Catholic authorship of most of our sources: the Catholics gave themselves a better press. Even so, we do find scattered references to Catholics engaging in agonistic acts against pagans.⁷⁹ And Augustine’s new letters have revealed that Catholic clerics were also forcibly freeing slaves and flogging well-born magistrates for crimes against peasants. Only when *they* did it, Augustine did not call it sedition, but enforcing the law.

Were these incidents comparable to instances of Donatist popular violence? At first glance, they certainly do not appear to be. For one thing, the “popular” element is much less apparent. Clerics were the ones who freed slaves and flogged magistrates, not rural mobs at *nundinae*. This may be a false impression, however. The Catholic authors had every reason to emphasize the rustic and “mob” element behind objectionable Donatist acts and every reason to conceal anything of the same sort in their own case. A more important difference is the scant mention of scriptural authority to justify the actions of Catholics; instead we find a constant invocation of imperial law. This may also been a function of the sources; the Donatists were willing enough to appeal to Roman law when allowed to speak for themselves.⁸⁰ But the difference may very well be real. Maureen Tilley has argued that it was an integral part of Donatist identity to regard the scriptures as the primary source of law.⁸¹ The Catholics ultimately prevailed against the Donatists because of their willingness to accept imperial authority over the church, and to “heal” the Donatist schism by communicating to the villages and the estates that imperial law backed the Catholic side. The “canonical texts” that Catholic clerics were communicating to the countryside were not just the scriptures,

but imperial edicts and fundamental principles of Roman law. And when Augustine defended his clerics for freeing slaves or beating magistrates, he employed imperial law, not the scriptures, to do it. What has been insufficiently recognized is that this Catholic advocacy (and communication of) imperial law had the potential to undermine *verecundia* as much as anything the Donatists had done.

Religious Unity

Catholics communicated this ideology of protection before the law primarily in their efforts to drive paganism and Donatism out of the villages and estates. Thus this is a good starting point, even though the imposition of Catholic Christianity on the North African countryside has usually been seen as a classic application of seigniorial *potestas*, rather than as any sort of empowerment of local populations.⁸²

The official stance of the Catholics (at least as expressed by Augustine and Aurelius) would appear at first glance to reinforce the traditional authority structures of the countryside. For example, at the turn of the fifth century, when the Catholic bishops of North Africa were debating the question of who had the authority to destroy pagan temples in the countryside, Augustine came down on the side of the landlords. He preached with reference to this verse from Deuteronomy: “When the earth has been given into your power . . . destroy their altars, threaten their sacred groves, and break all of their inscriptions.”⁸³ He explained:

When you have received the *potestas*, do this. Where *potestas* has not been given to us, we do not act; where it has been given, we do not fail to act. Many pagans have such abominations on their estates: should we invade and destroy them? First we should act to break the idols in their hearts. When they also have become Christians, they either invite us to so good a labor [i.e., destroying the temples] or do so first.⁸⁴

Christians, including Christian clergy, had the authority to destroy temples in the countryside only when the landlord gave them permission: “When does God give it in *potestas*? When he whose property it is becomes a Christian.”⁸⁵ Only criminals, like those “insane circumcellions,” used force in places where they did not have legitimate *potestas*.⁸⁶

Augustine, for the most part, followed his own advice. He wrote a letter to the municipal council of Madaura, urging them to destroy the idols that imperial law had already condemned,⁸⁷ and another to the landlord Publicola, advising him to convert the temples on his estates to Christian use.⁸⁸ He followed a similar policy of urging landlords to transfer Donatist churches to Catholic control and to convert their tenants to Catholicism.⁸⁹

It would be a mistake, however, to confuse this willingness to employ seigniorial power in the interest of the “correct” religion with an acceptance of a landlord’s right to impose whatever religion he or she liked. The landlords

were increasingly being treated by the church (as well as by the emperors) as the magistrates, not owners, of their estates, who had the right, indeed the duty, to enforce imperial law, but not to exercise their power in opposition to it.⁹⁰

We can see this attitude most clearly in Augustine's opposition to the efforts of a Donatist landlord to impose his religion on his peasants. The Donatist bishop of Calama, Crispinus, had purchased an emphyteutic (ninety-nine-year) lease of an imperial estate, the *fundus* Mappaliensis. He had soon rebaptized its population of eighty "souls," by (in Augustine's opinion) threatening his *coloni*.⁹¹ Augustine wanted to have a sermon in Punic read to the inhabitants of the estate so that they could freely choose between the two sects, "the fear of domination removed." Augustine could perhaps rightly be accused of hypocrisy for objecting so strongly to a Donatist landlord's coercion at the same time that he was encouraging Catholic landlords to do the same thing. But the terms of the letter show that Augustine did not accept the right of a landlord to coerce his *coloni* against imperial law: "But if you in rebaptizing the Mappalienses wished to be feared as a man, why shouldn't a royal command have effect in a province, if a subject's command has effect on an estate? If you compare the persons, you are a landlord, he is an emperor. If you compare places, you are on an estate, he is in a kingdom."⁹² Augustine was here touching a theme echoed in many of his treatises and sermons: the emperor's *potestas* overrode a landlord's. A landlord could not force his *coloni* to do something that imperial law forbade or protected them from. And he wanted to communicate this principle not only to Crispinus, but, by means of a Punic sermon, to the *coloni* themselves so that they would know they owed no obedience to a *dominus* urging them to commit a crime.

In imperial edicts as well, the possession of estates was becoming conditional on landlords' imposing religious unity. In the edict of 405, Honorius decreed that a landlord who allowed Donatists to rebaptize lost his estate to the fisc. If a *conductor* allowed rebaptism without the landlord's knowledge, he would be beaten with lead and exiled. The slaves and *coloni* of a landlord who was trying to rebaptize them could flee to the nearest Catholic church and gain their freedom.⁹³ Such edicts allowed bishops like Augustine to threaten landlords with confiscation of their estates if they promoted the wrong religion,⁹⁴ but they were also used to communicate to peasants themselves that they needn't obey a landlord who tried to make them act against the law.

The result of the North African schism was to bring home to every provincial the notion that the emperor and the emperor's church defined the law, not the landlords and municipal magistrates. The tenants of estates as well as the citizens of Carthage were being told that it was right to disobey rulers who tried to force them into paganism or heresy. In one of the newly discovered Dolbeau sermons Augustine preached at Carthage: "You ought to listen to the one with the greater *potestas*, the one with legitimate *potestas*.

For I would not say someone was obeying, if he listened to the *curator* in opposition to the proconsul, or the proconsul in opposition to the emperor, and so I do not say someone obeys who listens to the emperor in opposition to God.”⁹⁵ The problem was, of course, that in the mouth of a Donatist bishop, this statement would have been a call to sedition. And even in Augustine’s mouth, these were not words of peace. Preachers had made rulers accountable to the law, imperial as well as Christian. And they had assumed the responsibility of communicating and at times enforcing the law themselves. In a society where the law had always been more just in theory than in practice, this was a dangerous thing to have done.

Freeing Slaves

Enforcing the imperial law could lead Catholics into the same sort of behavior for which Axido and Fasir were killed. In the 420s, a group of Catholic clerics of Hippo forcibly freed 120 peasants who were going to be sold as slaves. A faithful Christian, who knew that the church of Hippo had a tradition of charity (*eleemosyna*) in these matters, had warned the clerics that slave merchants were about to depart with illegally captured *coloni*.⁹⁶ Augustine himself was not in residence, but his clergy decided to act. The men of the church seized the 120 captives from a ship and a nearby hiding place.⁹⁷ Although Augustine wisely did not specify what weapons his men were carrying (he was facing a lawsuit from the slave traders), they must have had some defense against armed slave traders who had been invading Numidian villages.⁹⁸ They carried the “slaves” to the church at Hippo to be interrogated. The testimony appears to have been entered into the episcopal *gesta*, since Augustine cited part of it in his letter.⁹⁹ The church judged whether each of the captives had been unjustly enslaved or not. Only five or six were discovered to have been sold by their parents, the others having been captured by bandits or sold by people who had no legal right to do so. One female entrepreneur had captured women by pretending she was going to sell them wood. A peasant man had actually sold his own wife, although, as Augustine interestingly put it, she had been “guilty of no fault.”¹⁰⁰ After the clerics had heard their testimony, those who were to be freed were taken to the episcopal poorhouse or commended themselves to members of the congregation until their families could reclaim them with letters from their bishops.¹⁰¹

Although fourth-century emperors had given the church a certain degree of jurisdiction over the manumission of slaves, this sort of forcible liberation without the participation of imperial officials was as illegal as anything the circumcellions had been accused of doing. Constantine had decreed that bishops could judge any civil case as long as one of the parties had appealed to their court.¹⁰² The bishop’s jurisdiction (*episcopalis audientia*) came to be particularly associated with *liberales causae*, the manumission of slaves.¹⁰³ The bishops were not, however, supposed to impose their decisions on

unwilling parties; secular authorities, whether governors, magistrates, or landlords, had the duty of enforcement. In the opinion of legal historians, this secular enforcement in effect placed *episcopalis audientia* on the same level as arbitration.¹⁰⁴ These limitations had become even more explicit by Augustine's time.¹⁰⁵ However, as is evident from the activities of the bishop Antoninus of Fussala, the clerics of rural communities allowed themselves a wide degree of leeway in their interpretation of *episcopalis audientia*, especially when it coincided with the clergy's duty of charity toward the poor.¹⁰⁶

When defending his own clergy's actions, Augustine did not base his case on charity or scriptural injunctions against debt slavery, but rather on Roman law. The merchants (who were known as *mangones*) were trying to transport free people overseas to sell as slaves. This sale of free Roman provincials was clearly illegal. Even parents were allowed to sell only the labor services of their children; they could not sell their children as chattle slaves (*Epist.* 10*.2). The imperial officials who had jurisdiction over the coast had refused to act (they in fact preferred to sell their shipping services to the slave merchants!).¹⁰⁷ An imperial edict had already forbidden the transport even of slave *familiae* overseas (with flogging with lead and perpetual exile as the punishment). Augustine was using this edict to threaten the merchants (who were demanding the slaves' return) but was reluctant to ask an imperial court to impose the sometimes fatal punishment with lead.¹⁰⁸ He was writing this letter to Alypius, who was going to Italy, to get his intercession with the emperors themselves so that they could address a rescript directly to the problem and save the church of Hippo from impending prosecution (10*.4).

In another letter, possibly connected to the raid on the slave ship, Augustine asked the jurist Eustochius what exactly the law regarding enslavement was, so that he could judge the cases coming before him correctly.¹⁰⁹ Augustine was particularly concerned with parents selling their children, and landlords their *coloni* (a subject he was careful not to mention in *Epist.* 10*):

I am also asking whether free fathers are able to sell their children into perpetual slavery and whether mothers are able to sell the labor services of their children. Along the same lines, I want to know whether, if a *colonus* should have sold his child (to the extent that it is permitted for a father to sell a child), the buyer would have more legal right (over him) than the landlord of the estate from which he draws his *origo colonatus*, and whether it is permissible for a landlord to turn his own *coloni* or the children of his *coloni* into slaves.¹¹⁰

This second letter makes clear that the slave-freeing incident was not a one-time occasion, but an especially egregious instance of a perpetual problem faced by the church. The appeals of parishioners were forcing the Catholic church to address the long-standing double standard whereby respectable urban citizens were protected from enslavement while peasants were readily

sold by their landlords as well as parents. Augustine's approach was likely to be more effective than Axido and Fasir's. We can see in *Epistulae* 10* and 24* the process by which the Roman law regarding slavery would be communicated from a respected jurist to Augustine, from Augustine to the bishops and priests of communities where *coloni* came from, and, in their trials before the church courts, to the *coloni* themselves. When the secular authorities refused to enforce imperial law, Christian clerics felt compelled by *eleemosyna* (as well as by the expectations of their congregations) to step in themselves.

Flogging a Magistrate

The last example takes us down to the level of a rural community. In the early 420s, some rural clerics in the diocese of Hippo had discovered a man "who held office in the *curia* or *forum*" fornicating with a vowed virgin (*sanctimonialis*). He had lured the woman to their parish for this purpose.¹¹¹ Even though the seducer was of sufficiently high status to be immune from corporal punishment in the imperial courts, the clerics flogged him.¹¹² Only the subordinate clerics, not the priest, were present, and we know from elsewhere in Augustine's letters that such men were typically of lowly, even *colonus* status. The magistrate was so offended by corporal punishment at their hands that he took the case to the pope himself, who demanded that the primate of Numidia (Alypius, Augustine's friend) put the clerics on trial.¹¹³ Rather than disapproving of their action, Augustine had difficulty understanding how they had refrained from doing worse to the man.¹¹⁴ It is interesting to contrast his attitude in this instance to his criticisms of Donatist discipline of the gentry less than ten years before: "Some *patresfamilias* who had been born to a honest position and brought up with a noble education were removed scarcely alive after their blows."¹¹⁵

This violation of a peasant *sanctimonialis* was not an isolated incident. Augustine had to deal relatively frequently with the rape or seduction of such peasant nuns by estate agents or by his own rural clergy. The Donatist bishops listed nun rape first among their grievances in 411.¹¹⁶ It is worth stepping back and asking why these rural *sanctimoniales* had become such a point of controversy by the early fifth century.

A *sanctimonialis* was a woman who had made a vow of perpetual virginity before a bishop or priest.¹¹⁷ In some places, *sanctimoniales* helped instruct and baptize peasant women (having taken over the functions of female deacons), although in North Africa, their formal role appears to have been confined to prayer, hymns, and (among the Donatists) prophecy.¹¹⁸ Unlike medieval nuns, North African *sanctimoniales* were not cloistered. Some supported themselves through crafts such as weaving. Others lived with their parents or even with male clerics in controversial celibate "marriages."¹¹⁹ Although the existence of *sanctimoniales* of peasant status has been little

noticed in histories of late antique asceticism, their numbers in North Africa were significant. Augustine mentions them often. A Catholic *sanctimonialis* from the estate Caspaliana was cured of illness when her parents carried her tunic to a local martyr shrine (Aug. *Civ.* 22.8). A *sanctimonialis* who was weaving on an estate was raped by the landlord's agent (*Epist.* 15*). A deacon got in trouble for associating with a *sanctimonialis* who lived with her parents in the village Membliba.¹²⁰ A subdeacon on a large estate similarly got defrocked for associating too freely with peasant *sanctimoniales* (in retaliation, both he and the women joined the Donatist "circumcellions"). The daughter of a *colonus* went over to the Donatists after her Catholic father refused to let her become a *sanctimonialis*.¹²¹ A Catholic landlady kept *sanctimoniales* at the martyr shrine on her villa, with whom she was accustomed to sing hymns (Aug. *Civ.* 22.8). These examples are mostly from the region of Hippo, but a Donatist saint's life about two teenage *sanctimoniales* on an estate in Proconsularis indicates that their popularity extended beyond Numidia.¹²² From all appearances, the villages and estates were crowded with these celibate women, a remarkable testament in itself of the impact of Christian communication on the North African countryside.

The problem was how to protect the virginity of uncloistered, unmarried women of a social status whose sexual honor had seldom been respected before. *Coloniae* who became *sanctimoniales* not only faced the usual difficulties of disobeying families who might want them to marry, but also risked offending their landlords, who lost both potential mothers for new *coloni* and an easy source of concubines. There were strong imperial laws against nun rape; by the mid-fourth century, even elopement with a consecrated virgin with an intention to marry brought a capital penalty.¹²³ Not even Augustine was willing to apply these laws to protect peasant women (partly because of his disapproval of capital punishment). He was, however, willing to apply another principle—that the corruption of a *sanctimonialis* by someone who held official power should result in the man losing his office.

For example, when Cresconius, the *conductor* of the *saltus* Hispaniensis, raped a nun from another estate who was weaving at his farm, his punishment was to lose his position.¹²⁴ Augustine, in his role as bishop, had heard witnesses, interrogated Cresconius until he confessed, and excommunicated him. Now he was writing to the clerics of Carthage who were to judge the case. Unlike the instance in *Epistula* 9*, Augustine had no fear that Cresconius would go unpunished. Rather he worried that the landlord Dorotheus would punish his *conductor* according to the imperial law on nun rape rather than something more merciful. He asked the clerics of Carthage, where Dorotheus resided, to make Dorotheus first swear to abide by the church's choice of punishment before they told him what crime Cresconius had committed.¹²⁵ Augustine wanted Dorotheus to remove him from his office as *conductor* so that others would not follow his example. The idea that an official who had violated the law should lose his office had a long history

in Roman law and was a common theme in anonymous North African treatises.¹²⁶ We see it here being applied to what had previously been a private business position, the *conductio* of an estate, in the defense of a peasant woman's virginity.

In the case in which the rural clerics flogged the magistrate, they had evidently thought (and Augustine agreed) that no secular authority would have punished the man if they did not. As Augustine expressed it, "You know how much this sort of complaint is accustomed to wear us down, and how these evils would be left unpunished except for the government (*regimen*) of the church and how they ought to be vindicated by the church, when they are not able to be through public laws. Therefore what is a bishop or clerics to do about matters of this sort, which are not merely sins but rather the crimes of men?"¹²⁷ The imperial courts were not an option, both because the clerics were reluctant to make a criminal face a death penalty and because, in this case, they could not have managed it if they had wanted to, given that the man held a public office and the woman was insignificant. In an ideal world, Augustine would have liked to remove the rapist from his secular office, as he had done in the case of the *conductor* Cresconius.¹²⁸ As things stood, he defended the clerics' right to inflict corporal punishment on someone whose status would have made him immune in the secular courts. Augustine's arguments seem very reasonable, lenient even, but should not obscure an important fact. The very Catholic bishop of Hippo was defending the right of a group of lowborn men to flog a magistrate for the sake of a peasant woman's honor.

Our search for the justifications behind some of the acts of disrespect toward creditors, landlords, and officials in the fourth and fifth centuries has been wide ranging. It started with the Donatist circumcellions, as described by Optatus of Milev, who were accused of preventing creditors from collecting their debts, reversing the position between master and slaves, and attacking imperial officials who distributed charity to the poor. It ended with Catholic clerics of Hippo freeing enslaved *coloni* and beating a magistrate in a rural parish for seducing a vowed virgin.

As we saw, some of these incidents can be connected to themes in the North African sermons. Preachers transmitted a set of values originally designed for urban audiences, values that were in many ways incompatible with the long-standing (though never formalized) inequality of the rural populations. Preaching about Christian charity to populations who had never known civic euergetism could undermine the gratitude patrons expected for their "gifts," especially when these gifts bound the recipient to a heretical or unjust benefactor. The very idea that the emperor's law should have effect on an estate, regardless of the landlord's wishes, was revolutionary when we consider the wide number of illegalities that had long been allowed to exist in the provincial countryside.

Brian Stock's concept of textual community helps to explain how clerics could come to enforce as well as communicate these values. The Christian clergy gained their influence by communicating a shared set of textually based norms. These shared values were not a side effect of their preaching, but the fundamental basis of their authority. Their efforts of enforcement were as much a response to the expectations of their congregations as attempts at self-promotion. We should take seriously their allusions to the "complaints that wear us down," to slaves "fleeing to their patronage," and to a faithful Catholic knowing that their "tradition of *miser cordia*" would induce them to free illegally enslaved *coloni*. The people called upon their holy men, on the estates as well as in the towns, to defend the values they had so vocally professed. And the bishops, priests, deacons, and even those circumcellion "generals of the saints" had one precious resource that gave them the power to do so—the ability to write, and to write not only in the new Christian language of charity and martyrdom, but also in the old Roman language of documents and law. They, unlike village *magistri*, had networks of communication that rivaled the imperial government's. The Donatist bishop of Carthage could send letters to a bishop in central Numidia, who could then transmit their substance to the *agonistici* in the villages. The flogging of a magistrate in a rural parish of Hippo was no longer an isolated incident of sedition that could easily be put down by the local military, but an act that involved the entire church hierarchy, including the bishop of Rome. Many of the incidents that have entered our historiography as examples of peasant rebellion might be viewed as the consequences of giving peasants access to Roman documentary culture and normative texts.

also of objects such as coins, stone architecture, bathhouses, and clothing. Villages, hamlets, and small farms benefited in particular. Commodities spread to populations that had been excluded from them before.

These commodities became more available to rural populations in part because the workshops producing them moved closer to consumers. In the third century, regional pottery industries developed in central Tunisia, Numidia, and Tripolitania—areas that had previously had to import fineware from the Carthage region hundreds of kilometers away. There was also a shift in the location of manufacturing on a microregional level: pottery manufacturing, which had previously clustered near the cities and coast, became common in villages and on farms. Other kinds of workshops and services—glass kilns, metal workshops, bathhouses—moved into the countryside as well. This was not a descent into localism or self-sufficiency, as has sometimes been claimed: some estate workshops exported their wares overseas, and connections between urban and rural markets became stronger.

What needs explaining is not so much the development of this late Roman system—which made better use of rural labor and increased the number of consumers—but its timing. Why didn't it happen sooner? I argue that it was a conscious part of Roman imperial policy to impose constraints on peasant consumption and nonagricultural production. In the early empire, village communities were displaced by Roman-style dispersed settlement focused on private estates, rural artisan industries were destroyed, and in the first two centuries C.E., a new imperial economic order developed that privileged the manufacturing and consumption of the cities. Roman monetary policy favored the silver and large bronze currency that was useful for the transactions of the urban populations, not the rural poor. Only when this imperial order began to break down in the third century do we see a real weakening of the barriers to peasant consumption, with the inflation of the currency bringing small change into the hands of rural consumers, and municipal control over city territories loosening.

Part 2 explored the changes in community structures that paralleled these economic developments: in particular, the phenomenon of the rural bishopric in the fourth and fifth centuries. It drew on sources that are by and large well known to historians—epigraphy, saints' lives, Augustine's letters, the Albertini Tablets, the African church councils—but attempted to interpret them from the peasants' perspective. The trend for most of Roman rule over North Africa was to suppress village political structures, most notably in the first and second centuries C.E., when rural communities were "attributed" to a relatively small number of recognized self-governing cities (*res publicae*), and much of their land was distributed to Roman colonists or senators. For a relatively brief time in the third century this policy changed: one aspect of imperial centralization was to allow previously "attributed" communities a degree of self-government. Village (*castella*) republics show up in the epigraphic record, and even estates began to ape the trappings of

municipalities. Some villages managed to become full Roman *municipia*. In the aftermath of the third-century crisis, however, municipal promotions ceased, village magistrates almost disappear from the sources, and the juridical power of landlords increased. The reasons for this are not economic decline or political apathy on the part of local populations, but an imperial disillusionment with local self-government that affected the cities as well as the villages.

When local populations failed to find communal recognition within the empire, they turned instead to its new religious articulation, the Christian church. Villages and estates that could not become “cities” in the administrative sense became the equivalent in the ecclesiastical sense. A high proportion of North African bishops, especially in Numidia and Byzacena, presided over congregations in villages or on estates. Local populations actively sought to elect these bishops; they were not an imposition by the church hierarchy. Augustine’s new letters allow us to trace the rise of one rural community—the *castellum* Fussala—under its controversial bishop Antoninus. Fussala’s bishop helped the village become a judicial center, strengthen its fortification walls, requisition goods from the surrounding countryside, and in general behave much like an autonomous community. And Antoninus ultimately created so much friction with the landlords of neighboring estates that the demands for his deposition came to the attention of the bishop of Rome. Such rural bishops were allowing rustics to join in the horizontal bonds of a community that bypassed—to an extent—the vertical bonds of estates.

Part 3 studied how the entry of these Christian clerics into the countryside provoked some of the behavior that has been interpreted as peasant rebellion by both ancient and modern authors. It takes as its starting point the concept of textual communities developed by Brian Stock (1987) in his work on medieval heresy. A textual community was created when people previously dependent on “oral participation in religion” were organized into a group centered on the shared internalization of canonical texts. Their heresy lay not so much in the ideas themselves as in the ability of a previously marginalized group to employ those ideas in their own interests.

In North Africa, thousands of Christian textual communities were formed in the fourth and fifth centuries, some under the leadership of bishops (including rural bishops), but more around the rural clergy, who did most of the actual teaching and reading in the villages and estates. Contrary to the very limited view of the “preacher’s audience” formulated by R. Macmullen (1989), I argue that Christian preaching penetrated deeply into rural society. An examination of the mechanisms of this preaching reveals the recruitment of priests and readers who were bilingual in Latin and the native languages, the mobility of preachers, and the mobility of the sermons, which were shared and compiled into the first sermon collections. It is possible to glean the substance of this preaching from the substantial number of surviving

anonymous sermons, which have barely been noticed by historians. Because of the exile of hundreds of North African bishops in the second half of the fifth century, these sermons made their way to monastic libraries in Italy, Spain, and Gaul in greater numbers than might otherwise have been expected. The bibliography gathers a total of 381 sermons and 39 other pseudopatristic texts whose manuscript tradition or version of the Latin Bible suggests a North African origin. Although it is unlikely that the original author or audience of most of these anonymous sermons was “rural,” the reuse of sermons by subordinate clergy and other bishops makes their original audience less important than the reasons for which they were collected. The initial impetus for collecting sermons was often use by subordinate clergy within the collector’s own diocese. The sermons give us insight into the preaching of the more ordinary clerics of fourth- and fifth-century North Africa.

Finally, I explore how the ideas in these sermons (and the techniques of literacy introduced by the preachers) could disrupt traditional power relations in the countryside. The last chapter of the book offers a rereading of acts that have been connected to the Donatist circumcellions (or to Catholic clergy who were behaving like circumcellions), starting with two well-known events narrated by the Catholic bishop Optatus of Milev. In the 340s C.E., circumcellions under the leadership of the “generals of the saints,” Axido and Fasir, opposed creditors and freed slaves in the rural marketplaces of central Numidia. Several years later, they flocked to the Numidian town of Bagai to violently oppose food distributions by imperial officials. These events should be understood as the consequence of rural populations being exposed to the techniques of literacy for the first time and, as a result, attempting to use documents, normative texts, and communications networks in their own interests. There are hints in Optatus that Axido and Fasir were asserting control over a documentary culture that had previously only been used to control, not assist, the peasantry. In anonymous North African sermons, we find scriptural justifications for opposing debt slavery and destroying debtors’ notes. To understand why peasants would flock to a town in order to *reject* imperial distributions of food, I examine how preachers were redefining legitimate giving and attacking traditional forms of patronage. Through their sermons on charity, *beneficia* could become obligations or (when the person offering them was not of the correct faith) pollution. Preachers were communicating a new discourse of power relations in the countryside to rival the old discourse of patronage and pity. And in addition to disseminating documentary culture and normative texts, clerics plugged rural congregations into communications networks that rivaled the imperial government’s. The Donatist bishop of Carthage could send letters to a bishop in central Numidia, who could then transmit their substance to the *agonistici* in the villages. The flogging of a magistrate in a rural parish of Hippo was no longer an isolated incident of sedition that could easily be put down by the local military, but an

act that involved the entire church hierarchy, including the bishop of Rome. Although it is unlikely that rural literacy rates were increasing in any direct way, the presence of literate clerics in the countryside (who were often of peasant origin themselves) helped bring the tools of literacy to those who had had very little previous access.

Peasants had begun to assert themselves in a range of areas that had previously been the preserve of *urbani*. They participated in a monetized economy, buying fineware and glass, visiting bathhouses and markets, and building stone farm-houses with tile roofs. On the level of politics, those villages and estates that had not managed to get the rights of self-government during the third century turned to the Christian church in the fourth, electing bishops, who brought them fortification walls, law courts, and sermons. On the level of mentalities, the presence of Christian preachers in the countryside helped create “textual” communities; previously excluded populations could now appeal to normative texts and were exposed to the discourse of martyrdom, charity, and law. That the consequence of this integration was an increase of tensions between *rustici* and *urbani* is wholly unsurprising.

Were these changes separate phenomena, or did they have a common cause? One possible cause that has been well studied by historians, although not generally for its impact on the rural populations, is the fragmentation of the late Roman elite. In the early empire, most of North Africa was under unified decurion control. The large imperial and senatorial estates were the main exception, and these were notably more assertive than the average rural community. By the fourth century, competition among decurions, imperial officials, a new “service” aristocracy, and the Christian clergy opened the way for peasant participation.¹ This process began in the third century, when imperial officials, in their efforts at centralization, granted self-government to many villages. In the fourth century, imperial interference at the local level continued with the confiscation of municipal public lands, but the more important transformation was the entry of two new elite groups into the provincial countryside—a “service” aristocracy of ex-officials who were often absentee landowners, and the less exalted, but potentially more disruptive, Christian clergy.

None of the elite groups was intrinsically more “pro-peasant” than the others. But each provided an alternative way for peasants to negotiate power. If an appeal for patronage from a local decurion didn’t work, people could approach an imperial official about citizens’ right to protection under the law or consult a Catholic bishop about the need to protect an estate from a Donatist landlord. These groups could be played off one another. Christian clerics were perhaps the most responsive, partly because as newcomers, they depended on local populations for their influence, but even more because, in this age of schism, Catholics and Donatists were competing for popular loyalties.

The end result was a weakening of the social and political controls that had

previously kept peasants in their places. Bishops seeking to win a village from a rival sect were willing to make its priest a bishop, and thereby give it some of the privileges of a *civitas*. Absentee landlords—whose greater distance from their estates made their interest primarily financial—were willing to lease out bathhouses and workshops if it resulted in higher rents. The more monetized economy, though creating new problems of debt, also brought about opportunities for escaping the traditional power structures of Roman society. Money was weakening existing social and family bonds and giving people the freedom to form new ones.²

Conversion to Christianity in the region must be understood in this context of movement: people traveling to rural markets; seasonal artisans, both male and female, going to neighboring estates and villages to work; rural churches and martyr shrines providing a new locus of community outside the family and estate; and the Christian clergy setting up communications networks that extended from *fundi* in central Numidia to Carthage. To use P. Horden and N. Purcell's (2000) terms, there was greater connectivity—not so much on an intraregional level (though overseas connections certainly remained strong), but on a microregional one.

As a consequence, late Roman North Africa was a wealthy, vibrant, yet troubled society, experiencing what has rightly been called, in a different context, an “age of anxiety.”³ Although there is little evidence that rustics were actually rebelling, their masters feared that they might. This uneasiness was displayed in a variety of ways: poets gently mocking small farmers for building bathhouses on their tiny plots of land, bishops railing against peasant nuns for trying to avoid “discipline” by refusing to marry, polemics against the circumcellions for pitching landlords off their carriages and hurling themselves into a suicidal frenzy against the imperial military. Because of the crossing of boundaries—economic, communal, and mental—the world seemed to be spinning out of control.

To what extent were these developments shared by other parts of the empire? The spread of commodities to rural populations was fairly generally shared by those regions that managed to preserve their prosperity, in particular the provinces of the eastern Mediterranean. As in Africa, the spread of commodities was assisted by the appearance of small workshops in the countryside, many of them distributing to a local market.⁴ It is important, however, to make a distinction between this “lateral expansion” of production and the descent into localism that characterized parts of early medieval Europe, as it was cut off from the communications networks of antiquity.⁵

The growth of villages in late antiquity is also well attested. An influential article by G. Dagron (1979) established the importance of the *metrokomiai*—communities that stood midway between a village and a town—which had a prosperous commercial sector and ambitions of fiscal and episcopal autonomy that often brought them into conflict with neighboring towns. An increasing number of archaeological surveys in the eastern Mediterranean have

documented the growth not only of such large villages, but also of more ordinary villages and hamlets from the fourth to sixth century. Even in Europe, the transformations that would eventually turn a “villa” into a “village” had begun by the fifth century.⁶ The rural bishopric, although nowhere as common as in North Africa, makes its appearance here and there. And throughout the empire, rural parishes with priests or *chorepiscopi* as their leaders became a locus for the formation of new Christian communities.⁷

Christianity allowed rural populations throughout the empire to participate in the wider cultural trends of their time, although in regionally specific ways. Monasticism attracted rural as well as urban populations in fourth- and fifth-century Egypt and Palestine. The cult of the saints, as studied by Peter Brown, bridged the divide between city and countryside in Europe as well as the eastern Mediterranean.⁸ In areas such as Gaul, where conversion to Christianity took place more slowly, there are signs that more secular ideologies may have spread to rural populations (such as a military ethos in the case of the *Bagaudae*).

What was distinctively North African (or perhaps distinctively Western) about the changes discussed in this book is the degree of conflict they provoked, which has to do with the nature of Roman imperialism in the West. In Roman North Africa, unlike in the eastern Mediterranean, there was no established institution of the village that corresponded to the Greek *kōmō*; the *castellum* comes closest, but it was not the same. Roman imperialism in the West had been more successful at replacing village communities with rural power structures that privileged private property; provinces were organized into cities and estates, leaving the majority of villages, as we have seen, as mere “places.”⁹ When villages revived in the late Roman period, their leaders—whether the circumcellion “generals of the saints” or a bishop like Antoninus of the *castellum* Fussala—came into constant conflict with the landowners.

In the eastern Mediterranean, the village served as a buffer between the peasantry and the elite. The wealthier peasants found a peaceful outlet for their ambition in assuming established magistracies in their villages and in joining the village oligarchy. Landlords eased social tensions by granting collective benefactions such as bathhouses to village communities.¹⁰ Fiscal autonomy (*autopragia*), although by no means the rule, was sometimes granted to the more important villages.¹¹ There was, in short, a recognized place in the world for a civic community that wasn’t a city. Conflict could still arise between cities and villages, especially when villages refused to pay their taxes, but not on the same level as in the West. When we read the letters of Augustine’s contemporary, Synesios of Cyrene, we seem to be entering a different world of urban and rural interaction, a world where villages volunteer to give up their bishops and be subordinate to another episcopal see and where rural populations join with their landlords to defend themselves against their common enemy, the invading Libyan tribes. These letters serve

as the textual equivalent of the smiling, peasant musicians in village church mosaics in Cyrenaica, a harmonious image of rural life very different from the prosperous, yet pointedly subservient peasants next to their landlord's fortified villa that we find in the mosaics farther west.¹²

To explore these differences would require going back to the beginnings of Roman imperialism in the West—the spread of private property and centuriation and the violation of indigenous communities—which contrasted with the more respectful treatment of the indigenous communities of the East.¹³ For North African rustics, the ideal became the *municipium* and later the bishopric, never a middle ground, because they had been left no middle ground. And so we see the long shadow cast by Roman imperialism on its provinces, even in its decline.

The Roman Empire had been no friend to rural communities in the West; however, most of the developments traced in this book wouldn't have been possible without the empire. The Romans' very success in dismantling rural communities meant that the new structures that were put in place in the third through fifth century were in fact Roman. The only alternative form of social organization was that of the Libyan tribes, and these hierarchical entities whose leaders derived their influence in part from imperial appointment and in part from the massive accumulation of private estates were as much a product of Roman imperialism as the municipalities were.¹⁴ Rustics adopted what was best about Roman civilization. They turned the Roman material culture, community structures, and normative ideas, which had originally been meant to subordinate them, to their own advantage, and as a result, their very Romanization came to be regarded as a threat to the social order. The irony is that the acts that seemed subversive to contemporaries were dependent on the continued existence of the Roman state. Although an important book by Chris Wickham (2005) has argued that the golden age for the peasantry occurred in the period immediately following the centuries that have been the focus of this book, there is little North African evidence to support this. The few sources that exist from Byzantine and early Islamic Africa suggest that peasants' ability to access commodities and develop their own communal identities didn't long survive Justinian's reconquest. Byzantine rule constituted a renewal of outside imperialism parallel in many ways to the disruption of rural economies and communities brought by the initial Roman conquest.¹⁵ And in places the Byzantine state couldn't reach, what we find is the spread of localism and tribalism in a form that was anything but egalitarian.¹⁶

Most of the trends that have been the focus of this book in fact had no future; they were dependent on structures of the Roman state, which in its very universality (universal citizenship, universal Christianity, universal law) made itself vulnerable to the appeals of local populations. Still, it is my belief that we can't fully understand the history of late antiquity without trying to reconstruct the lives of the voiceless majority, no matter how ephemeral their influence may have been. The economic prosperity that has been much

written about in recent years—and which has lately been primarily attributed to the actions of the large landlords—owed at least as much to the people who were leasing the olive presses, kilns, and bathhouses and buying their products.¹⁷ We can better understand Augustine of Hippo if we place his actions in the context of what was going on in the villages around him. We can better appreciate the evolving nature of Roman imperialism by exploring how the people with the least reason to defend it claimed its promises for themselves. Roman elites didn't operate in a vacuum; they were as often as not reacting—sometimes with fear, sometimes with empathy, but never with inattention—to the people who are less able to speak to us directly. This book has sought to restore some agency to these farmers, villagers, virgins, and subdeacons who managed despite all the odds to leave a record of their existence in our sources of the fourth and fifth centuries. They played, however briefly, a not insignificant role in the transformations of the late Roman world.

APPENDIX

The Identifiable Rural Bishoprics

A list of the submunicipal bishoprics of Numidia (Num.), Byzacena (Byz.), and Africa Proconsularis (Proc.), as known from texts or place-names, follows. The list is based on Maier (1973), supplemented by Lancel (1991, which provides an updated list of bishoprics mentioned at the Council of Carthage in 411), Mesnages (1912), and Gsell (1911). The editors of the *CIL* and, more recently, the *ILAlg.*, have also provided good information for places with surviving inscriptions. Except where otherwise noted, the primary sources for the civic status of the bishopric are cited in Lancel (1991) or Maier (1973) and not duplicated here.

SUBMUNICIPAL BISHOPRICS KNOWN FROM TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Aradi (Proc.: *fundus?*; Saumagne [1950], 129); **Arsacalitanum** (Num.: *castellum*); **Autenti** (Byz.: Coripp. *Ioh.* 7.317–21); **Azurensis** / Aiuren / Azuren (Num.); **Bagatensis** / **Vageatensis** (Num.: *saltus*; *Gesta* 1.181, pp. 822–24; Gsell [1911], f. 17, no. 158); **Baianensis** (Num.: *phourion?*); **Bartanensis** (Maur. Sit.: *castellum*); **Bencennensis** (Proc.: peregrine *civitas*); **Biltha** (Proc.: submunicipal *res publica*; Peyras [1975], 219–22); **Buruni** (Proc.: *saltus*); **Caesarianensis** (Num. or Maur.: *locus*; *Gesta* 1.189, p. 840); **Canianensis** (Proc.: *fundus?*; Saumagne [1950], 130); **Casae Calanae** (Num.: *locus*; *Gesta* 1.188, p. 768); **Castellum Titulianum** (Num.: *castellum*); **Cefalensis** (Proc.: *possessio*); **Centuriensis** (Num.: *phourion*); **Ceramussa** (Num. or Maur. Sit.: *locus*; *Gesta* 1.65, pp. 677–78);

Fausianensis (Num.: *locus*; Greg. M. *Epist.* 11.7); **Fussala** (Num.: *castellum*); **Gadiaufala** (Num.: *chōrion*?; Procop. *Vand.* 2.15.52); **Gatianensis** / **Gratianensis** (Byz.: *chōrion*?; Procop. *Vand.* 1.17.8); **Gibbensis** (Num.: imperial estate?); **Gilvensis** / **Gilbensis I** (Num.: two bishoprics; one was a *castellum* in the region of Hippo); **Gor** (Proc.: peregrine *civitas*: *CIL* 8.12421); **Guzabetensis** (Num.: estate?); **Hospitensis** (Num.: *locus*; *Gesta* 1.133, p. 758); **Iubaltianensis** (Byz.: *fundus*); **Iucundianensis** (Byz.: *villa* or *fundus*; Lancel [1964], 144–45); **Lamfuensis** (Num.: *castellum* *Phuensium* or *Lambafundenses*; *polis* in Procopius); **Lamsorti** (Num.: *res publica*); **Limisa** (Proc.: peregrine *civitas*?); **Matharensis** (Num.: *pagus*?); **Mazacensis** (Num.: *gens*?); **Memblone** / **Membrositana** (Proc.: *locus*; *Mirac. Steph.* 2.4, *PL* 41: 851); **Menephese** / **Menefessitana** (Byz.: *chōrion*; Procop. *Vand.* 2.23.3); **Milidiensis** (*gens*?); **Mutugenna** (Num.: *villa*; Aug. *Epist.* 23 and 173; Lancel [1984], 1104 and 1098); **Nasaitensis** (province?; *locus*; *Gesta* 1.187, p. 828); **Nova Petra** (Num.: *castellum*; *Passio Marculi* 6); **Octabensis** (Num.: *locus*?; Optat. 3.4, *CSEL* 26: 82); **Pudentianensis** (Num.: *locus*; *Gesta* 1.201, p. 864; Greg. M. *Epist.* 2.46); **Rotaria** (Num.: *res publica castelli*?); **Sai Maior** (Proc.: submunicipal in *CIL* 8.25502); **Sasura** (Byz.?: *vicus*; *Tab. Peut.* 6.3); **Scillium** (Proc., possibly Num. in the provincial reorganization of the sixth century: Desanges [1963], 42–44; *phourion*; Procop. *Aed.* 6.7.11); **Serrensis** (Proc./Byz.?: *locus*; *Gesta* 1.135, p. 774); **Sigus** (Num.: *castellum*, *res publica*); **Sila** (Num.: *res publica*, possibly *castellum*; *CIL* 8.10295; Gsell [1911], f. 17, no. 333); **Siniti** (Num.: *castellum*, *locus*; Aug. *Civ.* 22.8.11; Lancel [1984]); **Succubensis** (Proc.?: *civitas*: Desanges [1990], 270 / Salama [1987], 45); **Sutunurca** (Proc.: peregrine *civitas*; *CIL* 8.24004 / *IL Afr.* 301); **Tegulatensis** (Num.: *locus*; Aug. *Epist.* 20*.12);³ **Temonianensis** (Byz.: *locus*; *Gesta* 1.126, p. 724); **Thiges** / **Ticensis** (Proc.?: *castellum*?; *CIL* 8. 23166); **Thigillava** (Num.: *pagus*); **Thuccabor** (Proc.: *gens*; *CIL* 8.14853); **Tibuzabetensis** (province?: *locus*; *Gesta* 1.187, p. 832); **Tiddis** (Num.: *castellum*); **Tigisi** (Num.: *locus*; *Gesta* 1.209, p. 898; *Passio Mammarii* 3); **Tituli** (Proc.: *pagus*; *CIL* 8.27828; Shaw [1991], 28); **Trisipensis** (Proc.: *pagus*); **Tunugabensis** (Proc.: *pagus*); **Turrensis** / **Turris Rutunda** (Proc.: *fundus*); **Ubaza** (Num.?: *castellum*); **Ululi** (Proc.?: peregrine *civitas* or *fundus*?; *CIL* 8.12552 [= 10530]); **Vanarionensis** (Maur. Sit.?: *castellum*); **Vazari** / **Bazaritana** (Proc.: *locus*; *Concilia Africae*, *CCSL* 149: 191; Peyras [1991], 266); **Vegesela** (Num.: *possessio*); **Verronensis** (*fundus*?); **Vicensis** (province?: *locus*; *Gesta* 1.143, p. 794); **Vicus Pacatensis** (Num.: *vicus*; *CIL* 8.8280); **Villa Magnensis I** (Trip.: *fundus*); **Villa Magnensis II** (Proc.: *fundus*?; *CIL* 8.25902)

SUBMUNICIPAL BISHOPRICS ON THE BASIS OF PLACE-NAME

These are bishoprics whose toponym suggests a submunicipal status, as indicated by such Latinate terms as *casa*, *vicus*, *horrea*, *castellum*, *cella*, *turris*, and *centenarium*⁴ or by Libyo-Punic settlement terms such as GRM (Libyan, “village”), MGR (Punic, “estate”), GR (Punic, “farm,” “cultivated land”), or KPR (Phoenician, “village”).⁵ I have also included place-names with an *-iana* suffix (usually formed from personal names), which Serge Lancel has shown to be typically estates.⁶

Abbir Germanicana or Minus (Proc.: GRM; Coripp. *Ioh.* 7.317–21 includes it among other rural locations); **Agger / Aggar** (GR; two places, one of them an *oppidum* in Pliny *Nat.* 5.30 and *Bell. Afr.* 79.1; Ladjimi-Sebauï [1988], 59–77); **Botrianensis** (Byz. or Proc.: *-iana* suffix);⁷ **Caelianensis** (Num.: *-iana* suffix; possibly related to the *saltus* of Caelia Maxima, on which see *CIL* 8.19328 / Gsell [1911, f. 17, no. 66], and the Libyan *gens* Celianus in Coripp. *Ioh.* 2.75); **Caesariensis** (Num.: *-iana* suffix); **Casae Bastalenses** (province?); **Casae Favenses** (province?); **Casae Medianae** (Num.); **Casae Nigrae** (Num.: might be a *municipium*); **Casae Sylvanae** (province?); **Casulae Carianenses** (Byz.); **Castellum** (Num.); **Cebarsussi** (Byz.: CPR; possibly the *castellum* Cebat in Coripp. *Ioh.* 4.40–45); **Cellensis** = Cellae (Proc.); **Centenariensis** (Num.); **Dionysiana** (Byz.: *-iana* suffix); **Drusiliana** (Proc.: *-iana* suffix); **Egnatiensis** (Byz.: *-iana* suffix); **Frontonianensis** (Byz.: *-iana* suffix); **Germaniensis** (Num.: GRM); **Germanicana** (Byz.: *-iana* suffix); **Girensis** (Num.: GR); **Giru Marcelli** (Num.: GR); **Giru Tarasi** (Num.: GR); **Horrea** (province?: several different bishoprics with this name); **Horrea Aniciensia** (province?: *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 61.1: “Casas villa Aniciorum” in Trip. or Byz.); **Maco-madia Rusticana** (province?: *-iana* suffix); **Magarmelitana** (Num.: MGR); **Marcel-liana and Vazitana** (Byz.?: *-iana* suffix); **Mattianensis** (Proc.: *-iana* suffix); **Maximianensis** (Num.: *-iana* suffix); **Maximianensis** (Byz.: *-iana* suffix); **Nova Germania** (Num.: GRM); **Rufinianensis** (Byz.: *-iana* suffix); **Rusticianensis** (Num.: *-iana* suffix); **Seleucianensis** (Num.: *-iana* suffix); **Severianensis** (Byz.: *-iana* suffix); **Trofimianensis** (Byz.: *-iana* suffix); **Turrensis I** (Num.); **Turrensis II** (Num.); **Turres Ammeniarum** (Num.); **Turres Concordiae** (Num.);⁸ **Turris Alba** (province?); **Turris Blanda** (Byz.); **Vicus Ateriensis** (Byz.); **Vicus Augusti** (province?); **Vicus Caesaris** (province?); **Vicus Turrensis** (province?); **Villa Regia** (Num.)

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. El Alia, “Nilotic” mosaic, as reproduced in Gauckler (1910), pl. 92, although the landscape of this part of the mosaic is not “Nilotic,” but Mediterranean: Picard (1990).

2. Carthage, Dominus Julius mosaic, reproduced in Dunbabin (1978), pl. 109, and Blanchard-Lemée et al. (1996), fig. 121 (dated to the late fourth or early fifth century C.E.). For the social relations and architecture portrayed by this important mosaic, see Krause (1987), 105 n. 96; Parrish (1979); Sarnowski (1978); N. Duval (2002); and Nevett (2008).

3. For representations of *urbani* in similar dress, compare the Mosaic of Dice-Players from El Djem: Dunbabin (1978), pl. 118; Blanchard-Lemée et al. (1996), fig. 46 (dated to the second half of the third century C.E.).

4. Rubin (1995), 150, 159, and 178; Aug. *Gaud.* 1.28.32, although the term is more commonly thought to derive from the *cellae* (shrines) of the martyrs: see, among others, Frend (1969); Gaddis (2005), 107 n. 14.

5. Optatus of Milev, *Contra Parmenianum Donatistam* 3.4, ed. C. Ziwsa, CSEL 26: 82, for both quotations. For a slave running alongside the horses while the master rides in the carriage, compare the Maison d’Isguntus hunting scene from Hippo Regius: Dunbabin (1978), fig. 29.

6. Optat. 3.4, CSEL 26: 82: “tunc Taurinus ire militem iussit armatum per nundinas ubi circumcellionum furor vagari consueverat.”

7. Optatus 3.4, CSEL 26: 81: “tunc alter Donatus praecones per vicina loca et per omnes nundinas misit, circumcelliones agonisticos nuncupans.”

8. *Gesta* 3.174, p. 1120 (letter of the Council of Carthage to the proconsul Septiminus, 403 C.E.).

9. Aug. *Epist.* 108.6, to Macrobius, a Donatist bishop. Cf. the anonymous anti-Donatist sermon *S. Dol.* 2, where the Donatists are called the “imperitarum plebium seductores.”

10. Aug. *Epist.* 35.2.

11. Ibid. 185.3.

12. For the circumcellions (and Donatists in general) as Berber nationalists, the classic account is Frend (1952). For Marxist-inspired interpretations of them as peasant revolutionaries, see Thompson (1974); De Ste. Croix (1981), 474–88. Schulten (1984), Caner (2002), 230–33, and, most recently, Pottier (2008) emphasize their monastic or millenarian motivations.

13. Brown (1961); Markus (1972); Whittaker (1994), 277–78. For a similar reconsideration of the Bagaudae, see Van Dam (1985), discussed by Drinkwater (1989), 196–97.

14. Rubin (1995), 178; Shaw (2004).

15. *CTh* 16.5.38, regarding Manichees as well as Donatists. See Hermanowicz (2008), chaps. 3 and 4, for a detailed examination of the rhetorical strategies used by the Catholic bishops to persuade emperors to treat Donatists as heretics.

16. In addition to the examples below, see Thompson (1974); Patlagean (1977), 296–301; Wickham (2005b), 529–33. This is a subset of the “discourse of *latrocinium* [banditry]” discussed by Gaddis (2005), 210 ff.

17. *Bell.* 2.2–3, trans. and ed. Thompson (1952), 94. The dating of this anonymous text is disputed, ranging from the 350s to the early fifth century: see Banaji (2002), 46; Brown (1992), 104–5 n. 181, for references.

18. John Chrysostom, *In Act. apost.*, *Hom.* 18.5, ed. Montfaucon, 159.

19. Libanius, *Oratio* 47.4 and 47.7; discussed by Brown (1992), 27. Libanius attributes their audacity to the fact that they had come under the protection of local military officers.

20. For the extensive literature on the Bagaude, see Minor (1997), (1999); Badot and Decker (1998); Drinkwater (1989).

21. *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 39.17: “manus agrestium ac latronum”; *Eutr.* 9.20.3: “cum tumultuili rustici in Gallia concitassent.” Cf. *Panegyrici latini* 4.3–4 (Nazarius), ed. É. Galletier, *Panegyriques latins*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1952), delivered in 289 C.E., which described Maximian’s victories over *agricolae*, *aratores*, *pastores*, and *rustici*. Raymond Van Dam (1985) has most strongly argued that the Bagaude acted under the leadership of local landowners; see the critique of his arguments by Drinkwater (1989), 198; Minors (1997); Wickham (2005b), 529–33.

22. The *Historia Augusta* narrated these events twice, in both the life of Maximinus Thrax and the life of Gordian I: *Hist. Aug. Max.* 14 and *Gord.* 7.2–9.4.

23. Herodian 7.3–5. Syme (1968), 54, considers the narrative of 238 in the *HA* “either Herodian or fiction.”

24. Herodian 7.4.2–3.

25. *Ibid.* 7.5.4–7.

26. *Hist. Aug. Max.* 14.1: “hic per rusticanam plebem, deinde et quosdam milites interemptus est superantes eos qui rationalem in honorem Maximini defendebant.” Cf. *Hist. Aug. Gord.* 7.2–3.

27. *Hist. Aug. Gord.* 7.3.

28. *Ibid.* 7.4.

29. See Brown (1992), 80–117, for urban riots during the fourth and fifth centuries; Norton (2007), 56 ff., for the violence often accompanying episcopal elections. These are not, however, an entirely separate phenomenon from rural unrest, since rural populations sometimes traveled to town to participate, as at Bagai in 347.

30. The best studied instance of this is the rise in wages and commercialization that preceded the English Peasants’ Revolt of 1381: see Dyer (1989), 109–87. Buoye (2000) explores the connection between commercialization and the rise in rural violence in eighteenth-century China, bringing into question the “moral economy” approach. For a similar study of how rural-market expansion in the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire led to increased “contention” in villages, see Barkey and Van Rossem (1997). Karl Polanyi (1957) began the discussion of how the emergence of markets can disrupt the social relations in which the market was previously “embedded.”

31. The sudden reappearance of heresy in eleventh- and twelfth-century Europe has been connected with the preachers communicating the Bible to illiterate groups, creating “textual communities” bound together by a shared reading of the canonical text: Stock (1987), with further discussion in Biller and Hudson (1996). A similar case is the Sanskritizing movements in modern India, where the attempt by lower castes to adopt the sacred language and rituals of higher castes led to social tension and violence: Guru (1993). The introduction of bureaucratic

literacy can have similar consequences. Steven Justice (1994) has connected the English Peasants' Revolt of 1381 to the appearance of a "documentary culture" in the villages.

32. Scott (1990), 87.

33. North African rustics taking refuge in their landlord's tower are described in an anonymous North African letter: Ps.-Sulpic. Sev. *Epist.* 1 (*Ad Salvium*), ed. Lepelley (1989).

34. For an overview of excavations of late antique villages and farms throughout the Roman Empire, see Sodini (1995), (1997); Gatiér (2005). For North Africa, the main rural excavations are Berthier (2000) for the Numidian *castellum* of Tiddis; Anselmino et al. (1989) for the large farm of Nador; De Vos (2000) for a late antique farm near Dougga; Brogan and Smith (1984) for the Libyan village of Ghirza.

35. These Mediterranean survey projects have been summarized in Bowden, Lavan, and Machado (2004); Bintliff and Sbonias (1999); Francovich and Barker (2000); Barker and Lloyd (1991); and (for Greece) Pettegrew (2007).

36. Barker and Mattingly (1996) for the Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey; De Vos (2000) for the Thugga (present-day Dougga) Survey; Dietz, Sebai, and Habib (1995) and Ørsted et al. (2000) for the Segermes Survey; Fentress (2000) and (2001) for the Jerba Survey; Fentress et al. (1993) for the Belezma Survey; Greene (1986) and (1992) for the Carthage Survey; Hitchner (1982) for the Brathay Exploration Fund's Sufetula Survey; Leveau (1984) for the Caesarea Survey; Wanner (2006) and Hitchner (1988), (1989), (1990), and (1992/1993) for the Kasserine (ancient Cillium) Archaeological Survey; Reddé (1988) for the Syrtic coast of Tripolitania; Rebuffat (1986) for the region of Volubilis; Stone (1998) and Stirling et al. (2000) for the Leptiminus Survey; and Younes (1999) for the Thapsus Survey.

37. A North African origin can often be deduced from a sermon's translation of the Latin Bible. The ongoing critical edition of the Old Latin Bible being produced by the Vetus Latina Institute in Beuron groups all extant scriptural quotations by family. The scholarship on these anonymous texts and their scriptural tradition is summarized in Machielsen (1990), Dekkers (1995), Gryson (2007), and Frede (1995), with supplements by Gryson (1999) and (2004). The North African texts tend to appear under Pseudo-Augustine, Pseudo-Chrysostom, Pseudo-Cyprian, Pseudo-Fulgentius, and (in Gryson / Frede) Anonymous.

38. For the manuscript and author, see F. Leroy (1994), (1997), (1999), and (2004). Leroy (1999) contains a provisional edition of the twenty-two previously unedited sermons. Following Gryson (2007), I cite these sermons as Anon. *H. Esc.*

39. For late antique settlement growth, see the papers in Lefort, Morrisson, and Sodini (2005); Bowden, Lavan, and Machado (2004); and Burns and Eadie (2001); as well as S. Alcock (1993) and Kosso (2003), 31–52, for Greece; Hirschfeld (1997) for Palestine; Tate (1992) and (1997) for Syria; and Varinlioglu (2008) for Cilicia.

40. Charpentier (1995) and Hirschfeld (1997), esp. 65–66, for rural bathhouses in late antique Syria and Palestine; S. Alcock (1993), 102–5, for the increase in "special use sites" (workshops, shrines, etc.) in late Roman Greece; Dunn (2005), 275–76, for Macedonia; and Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens (2003), 290, for Asia Minor. Villagers in Cilicia, Asia Minor, and the Limestone Massif of Syria were able to afford the services of professional builders: Varinlioglu (2008), 67–69 and 96–99 for Cilicia; and Tchalenko (1953) for Syria, with the discussion by Wickham (2005b), 443–47.

41. See Esmonde Cleary (1989), 104 ff., and Millet (1990), 167–68, for fourth-century growth in rural Britain; Reynolds (1993), 10, and Keay (1988) for an increased investment in villas in Spain; Levitt (1991) for Gaul. Recent surveys in Saint-Blaise and the lower Rhone valley of southern France have found a revival of rural settlement in the fifth and sixth centuries: Trémont (1999), (2000). Other regions of the West, however, seem to have experienced a decline in datable settlement density in the fourth and fifth centuries: Car-reté, Keay, and Millett (1995) for Tarraconensis (Spain); Saggioro (2004), Christie (1996), and the papers in Barker and Lloyd (1991) for Italy; Van Ossel and Ouzoulias (2000) and Wightman

(1985) for northern Gaul; and Trémont (2000), 85, for parts of southern Gaul.

42. The growth in villages and small towns during the late Roman period is discussed by Burnham and Wacher (1990) for Britain; Mangin and Petit (1994) for Gaul; Tate (1992) for Syria; Hirschfeld (2003) for Palestine; Dunn (2005) for Macedonia; and Dagron (1979), Gatier (1994) and (2005), and Sodini and Morisson (2002), 10 ff., for the eastern empire as a whole.

43. Banaji (2002); Sarris (2004a) and (2006), 38 n. 69, 48, 129, 197, etc.; De Ligt (1990), 40 ff.; and below, [chapter 3](#).

44. For the “desert” monasteries of Judea, Hirschfeld (1992); for rural shrines in Asia Minor, Mitchell (1993), vol. 2; for the spread of rural churches in the eastern Mediterranean, Trombley (1994) and Kidner (2001).

45. Brown (1981), 45, and (2002), 6 ff., drawing on the work of Evelyn Patlagean (1977) and Paul Veyne (1990).

46. Brown (1968); (1971), 109–11, 143, 181–82; (1981), 121. For preaching to popular audiences, Maxwell (2006), [chap. 3](#); Clark (2001); Rousseau (1998); Olivar (1991).

47. Brown (1971), 44 and *passim*, sets up a sharp contrast between East and West.

48. For the interpretation of the survival of non-Roman forms of material culture as “resistance,” see Mattingly (1997) and Bénabou (1976) for Roman North Africa; Hingley (1997) for Roman Britain; and Paynter and McGuire (1991) in general.

49. Brown (1968), 93.

50. Brown (2002), 81, 89, 111, and *passim*; reviewed by Shaw (2002).

51. Brown (1981), 122. Brown gives the example of peasants refusing to stop farming on the Sabbath.

52. Brown (1981), 121: “For the spread of Christian *reverentia* made final the processes by which the indigenous cultures of the western Mediterranean had been imperceptibly eroded by a slow but sure pressure from on top exercised through the grid of administration and patronage relationships that had reached ever outwards over the centuries from the towns and from the country villas of the great.” For the rural populations of the western empire eventually being excluded from participating in the most sophisticated forms of Christianity, see Brown (1981), 124; (1968), 95. In Banaji’s (2002) recent work on peasant labor on the large estates of late antique Egypt, the peasants are also portrayed as remarkably passive. The aristocrats are the ones initiating economic change on their estates. They use wage labor as a way to increase their control over their rural workforce, tying the peasants to themselves through indebtedness and a formalized legal claim on their labor (the colonate). Peter Sarris similarly connects the development of highly “commodified” bipartite estates in late antique Egypt to a strengthening of lordship and a decrease in peasant autonomy: Sarris (2006), 129 ff.

53. Guardino (1996), 9, quoting Eugene Genovese. Scott (1990), 77: “Perhaps the greatest problem with the concept of hegemony is the implicit assumption that the ideological incorporation of subordinate groups will necessarily diminish social conflict.”

54. For how Christianity was thus transformed by indigenous groups in South Africa, see Comaroff and Comaroff (1997); Landau (1995).

55. See Bourdieu (1984), esp. 249–56, for struggles over the appropriation of economic or cultural goods.

56. This is most frequently true for clothing: see Cohn (1989) for the complex regulations for dress in British India; Downs (2000), 206, for the Spanish government of Mexico forbidding Indians from wearing European clothes without special licenses. Smith (1976), 309–74, discusses how restrictions on access to markets can achieve the same result.

57. Guha (1999), 61–67.

58. Cohn (1989).

59. Guha (1999), 61–66.
60. Thomas (1991), 186: “It is important to recognize that material products, as well as belief systems such as Christianity, or resources such as literacy, are always acted upon and reformulated by indigenous populations.”

1. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

1. Mattingly et al. (2003), 30; Camps (1982), 548–51; Shaw (1976).
2. See Shaw (1984) for ancient North African irrigation systems and their social implications.
3. See Harl (1996), 79, for the trans-Saharan trade in gold from the sixth century B.C.E. on, which Mattingly (1994), 155–57, believes to have been exaggerated. For the use of the horse by the early first millennium B.C.E., see Mattingly et al. (2003), 345; for the domestication of the camel, see Camps (1982), 549–50; Shaw (1979), esp. 686–87; Shaw makes the case for the domestication of the African camel (dromedary) by the end of the second millennium B.C.E.
4. See Brett and Fentress (1996), 5–6, for the possibility that the ancient Libyans called themselves something along the lines of Mazices (present-day Imazighen), a name related to the word for “noble” among the Tuareg.
5. Blench (1993), 134.
6. Camps (1982), 553–623; Brett and Fentress (1996), 17–23.
7. Mattingly (1994), 19–37.
8. Lancel (1992/1995), 273–79 and 357–60; Greene (1986).
9. Lancel (1992/1995), 288; Lipinski (1992), 260.
10. Modéran (2003b); Brett and Fentress (1996), 24–41; Mattingly (1994), 162–66, 168, and 209; Millar (1968).
11. Raven (1969), 38–46; Brett and Fentress (1996), 43–47.
12. For this distinction between the Mauri of the “exterior” and those of the “interior,” see Modéran (2003b).
13. Roller (2003), 44–45.
14. As demonstrated by the maps in Demsiri-Laadoua’s (1995) useful synthesis of the evidence for the imperial North African estates. See Pliny *Nat.* 18.35 for six landlords owning half of Africa.
15. Cherry (1998), 53 ff.
16. Shaw (1983); Cherry (1998); Morizot (1997).
17. Camps (1993).
18. Mattingly (1994), 143; Modéran (2003b), 254.
19. Berthier (1981), 178–85. The cities within the confederation were Cirta, Rusicade, Chullu, and Milev, all Roman colonies, though not Roman foundations.
20. Duncan-Jones (1974), 264–65, analyzing *CIL* 8.967 and 12448.
21. See Duncan-Jones (1974) for the size of the municipal *ordines*.
22. Greene (1986), 208–9.
23. Mattingly (1994), 51.
24. P. Reynolds (1993), 45 and 51–53.
25. Février (1982b); Mattingly and Hitchner (1995), 183, for Carthage; Raven (1969), 83 ff.
26. For the Libyan origin of North African farming techniques, see especially Shaw (1984), confirmed by archaeological work in areas of little or no Roman settlement, such as

the Fazzan and the Libyan predesert: Wilson (2006) and Barker and Mattingly (1996). For the impact of individual (as opposed to communal) property rights and Roman taxes, see Fentress (2006) *passim*; Brett and Fentress (1996), 33; Hopkins (1980).

27. Kehoe (1988); Kolendo (1991); Wessel (2003).

28. Raven (1969), 100–106. See Garnsey (1978) in general.

29. See Mattingly (1994), 120–22, for Lepcis Magna; Février (1982b) for urban building in general; Gascou (1982a), 207–19, for municipal rights.

30. See the introduction, pages 4–5.

31. See Harl (1996), 130, table 6.2, comparing the *antoninianus* of Claudius II Gothicus (268–70) to that of Caracalla (211–17).

32. Brett and Fentress (1996), 69; Warmington (1954), 8.

33. See Fentress (1981) and Dupuis (1992) for public building; Fentress and Perkins (1988) for pottery production.

34. Frend (1952), 88. For the only thirty-one known bishoprics in Italy in 314 C.E., see Humphries (1999), 46–48 and 102; for the estimated thirty-five from early fourth-century Gaul, see Shaw (2003), 109, with references.

35. Tert. *Apol.* 37.4, *CCSL* 1: 148.

36. Brett and Fentress (1996), 69.

37. For the late antique survival of polytheism in North Africa, see Riggs (2001); and (for the Tripolitanian predesert) Modéran (2003b), 282 ff. For the similarly rapid spread of Christianity in Asia Minor, see Mitchell (1993), 67–73.

38. Frend (1952), 97–98; Simmons (1995), 184–215.

39. Brett and Fentress (1996), 35; Mattingly (1994), 206–7.

40. Shaw (1991); Frend (1952), 119–22. Cf. Evers (2001).

41. Frend (1952), 121–22; (1982), 616–17. For the peculiar division of North African towns into *curiae* (clubs of fifty to sixty men, often ten or eleven *curiae* per town), see Duncan-Jones (1974), 282.

42. Edwards (1999); Simmons (1995); Digeser (2000), esp. 64–90.

43. Warmington (1954), 73; Euzennat (1989), 239; Villaverde Vega (2001).

44. Warmington (1954), 15–16.

45. Raven (1969), 126; Warmington (1954), 1; Mattingly (1994), 171, with some debate over the specific date of these subdivisions.

46. *CTh* 4.13.4 (358 C.E.) to the vicar of Africa; Lewin (2001), 27–35; Heather (1998), 205; Lepelley (1992), 61.

47. *CTh* 12.5.1 (325 C.E.). This procedure was actually relatively democratic; in the eastern cities, the *ordo* elected the magistrates in the fourth century: Liebeschuetz (2001), 110 and 126.

48. Kotula (1982).

49. Lepelley (1979); Liebeschuetz (2001), 74 ff.

50. Heather (1998), 90, 197, and 205, for the empire as a whole.

51. Chastagnol (1978), esp. 89–90. The album is dated ca. 363 C.E.

52. Heather (1998), 207–9; Jones (1964), 763–66, on the provincial councils.

53. In the Album of Thamugadi, only eleven *clerici* are listed.

54. Lepelley (1979), 90–108; Potter (1995), 66–69; Mahjoubi (1978), 173–75 and 447–48 (Belalis Maior); Benseddik and Potter (1993), 58–60 and 377–80 (Caesarea). For the continued use of theaters and amphitheaters into the early Byzantine period (despite Augustine's *Sermo Denis* 17), see Hugoniot (2003), 885–93.

55. Gui, Duval, and Caillet (1992); Sears (2007), 99–116.

56. New baths: Mohamedi et. al. (1991), 56–90, and Fentress (1989) at Sitifis ca. 425–30; Maurin (1967), 229, at Thuburbo Maius in the fifth or sixth century. Refurbishment of existing baths: Broise and Thébert (1993), 385, for Bulla Regia ca. 360 C.E.; Mahjoudi (1978) for Belalis Maior in the fourth century; N. Duval (1964), 94, for Sufetula in the late fourth century.
57. Potter (1995), 16–17 and 73; Lepelley (1992), 52–53; Février (1964), 19–26 and 30–32, for Cuicul and Sitifis; N. Duval (1964), 99, for Sufetula; Stevens (1996) for Carthage.
58. Dunbabin (1978), 14–15; Duval and Février (1972), 27–29.
59. Mattingly (1994), 182–85, for Lepcis Magna.
60. Potter (1995), 66–79; Thébert (1983), 107–8; (1986); Roskams (1996).
61. The best general history of the Donatists remains Frend (1952) despite the criticism of his overall thesis, summarized in Mattingly and Hitchner (1995), 208, with references. Maier (1987–89) provides an excellent annotated dossier of the texts relating to the Donatists.
62. Aug. *Cresc.* 3.56; Frend (1952), 211.
63. See now Hermanowicz (2008), [chaps. 3–6](#), for an excellent account of the Catholic bishops' ultimately successful efforts to get Donatism treated as a heresy.
64. Brett and Fentress (1996), 64–65.
65. Frend (1952), 208–26; Brett and Fentress (1996), 71–73.
66. Hermanowicz (2008), 84–86.
67. Brown (2000), 222–39 and 330–39. For Donatism as the binding agent in much of Augustine's theological work in this period, see Markus (1970).
68. Hermanowicz (2008), 92 and 130–31.
69. *CTh* 16.6.4–5 (405); Frend (1952), 263.
70. *CTh* 16.5.51 (August 25, 410); Frend (1952), 273; Hermanowicz (2008), 188.
71. Frend (1952), 276–89.
72. Warmington (1954), 13–14.
73. For the early history of the Vandals, see Courtois (1955), 11–64; Modéran (2002).
74. N. Duval (1996); Modéran (1999), 250. The “year of Carthage” was the equivalent of regnal years.
75. Modéran (1999); (2003b), 544 ff.
76. Modéran (2002), 88–97; see also Clover (1982), 674, for the absence of gold coinage as indicating some respect for the Eastern Roman emperors, *contra* Modéran (2002), 97.
77. See examples in Modéran (2002), 104; Jones (1964), 854.
78. Modéran (2002), 97–122, and Ripoll and Arce (2000), 105–6, *contra* Jean Durliat's (1990) argument that the barbarians merely took a percentage of the revenues of the estates (which were in fact fiscal units). Procop. *Vand.* 2.8.25 alludes to Geiseric destroying the tax registers.
79. Modéran (2002), 107–8; Modéran (2003a).
80. See Warmington (1954), 99, for Donatists being among the bishops exiled by the Arians.
81. See esp. Clover (1982).
82. Hays (2004); Riché (1976), 37–39, 55–56, 64; Bertini (1974); Isola (1990), esp. 112–39, for this literary production.
83. Duncan-Jones (1974), 260–61 nn. 4, 5, for the population of Carthage.
84. N. Duval (2002); Von Rummel (2002); N. Duval et al. (2002), 191–95.
85. For Vandal government, see Courtois (1955), 248 ff.; Clover (1982), 11–13; Gil Egea (1998), 276–79 and 283–85; Wickham (2005b), 89.
86. Clover (1982), 10; Gil Egea (1998), 289–91; Wessel (2003).

87. Gil Egea (1998), 296, and Modéran (1996), 109–10; *contra* Wickham (2005b), 89 and 636–67, who suggests that royal officials and bishops took over the cities. The best-attested surviving municipal honor was the priesthood of the imperial (now royal) cult, which was not, however, an administrative position: Chastagnol and Duval (1974); Wessel (2003), 31–32. For the survival of the decurions in other parts of the post-Roman West, see Liebeschuetz (2001), 124–36.

88. Keay (1984), 417–27; P. Reynolds (1993), 40. For the damage to the Italian economy due to the loss of North Africa, see Liebeschuetz (2001), 95; Wickham (2005b), 34, 88, and *passim*.

89. Procop. *Vand.* 2.3.26 / Modéran (2002), 97; P. Reynolds (1993), 18 and 37, for the increase of North African amphoras in Spain; Panella (1986) for the East; and Morrisson (1987) for the circulation of gold.

90. See Harl (1996), 186–88, for a general overview. The Vandal kings did not strike bronze in their own names until the 480s, and even then, the majority of Vandal-period coins in the hoards remain anonymous imitations, not official coins: see Morrisson (1980); Mostecky (1997), 136–39 (for the anonymous “Victory” *minimi*). For the argument that the *minimi* were a provincial (perhaps even a municipal) response to a crisis in the supply of bronze coinage brought by the Vandal conquest, see Mostecky (1997), 50–53 and 104–7.

91. See Fulford and Peacock (1984), 110, for ARS D; Neuru (1990) and P. Reynolds (1993), 40, for central Tunisian ARS. The export of ARS to other regions of the West declined in the mid-fifth century: Fentress and Perkins (1988) and P. Reynolds (1993), 37; its distribution appears to have revived, however, especially to the East, in the last quarter of the fifth century: Hayes (1972), 422–23 and 458; Fulford and Peacock (1984), 114.

92. See Ben Lazreg and Mattingly (1992) for the Leptiminus Survey. See Ben Khader and Duval (2000), 196–200; Stevens (1996); and Liebeschuetz (2001), 98, for Vandal-period residential occupation in Carthage; N. Duval et al. (2002), 178–82, for Neapolis.

93. See below, [chapter 3](#).

94. Liebeschuetz (2001), 97–100; Potter (1995), 66 ff.; Thébert (1983), 110–11.

95. Gelichi and Milanese (2001), 341–42 and 349, for Uchi Maius; Maurin (1967), 240–54, for Thuburbo Maius; N. Duval (1964) for Sufetula.

96. See Ben Khader and Duval (2000), 191–96, for Carthage; N. Duval (1987), 288, for a possible Arian cathedral at Sabratha; Raynal (2006) for a possibly Donatist church at Upenna; Bejaoui (1995) for Henchir Gousset; Mahroubi (1978), 368 and 450, for Belalis Maior; N. Duval (1971), 291–94, and (1964), 98, for Sufetula; Ghalia (2002), 220, for Mustis.

97. Hugoniot (2003), esp. 298–302.

98. See Broise and Thébert (1993), 387, for Bulla Regia; Mohamedi et. al. (1991), 29, for Sitifis; Mahjoubi (1978), 209, for Belalis Maior (though only until ca. 500); Miles (2005), 310, for Carthage; Thébert (2003), 418–21, in general.

99. Mahjoubi (1978), 449.

100. Mattingly (1994), 183–85; Potter (1995), 69 n. 77.

101. Fentress (1990), 126.

102. See Leveau (1984), esp. 463–64 and 484–85; and for one excavated example (Nador), Anselmino et al. (1989), with review by Mattingly and Hayes (1992). For similar changes in Europe, see Liebeschuetz (2001), 383; Bender (2001) for the Rhine and Danube areas; P. Reynolds (1993), 14–30, for Spain.

103. Fentress (1990) for Sitifis; Benseddik and Potter (1993), 103–18 and 292–93, for Caesarea. The vast majority of the bronze coins in Vandal-period or early Byzantine hoards from the Mauretania or southern Numidia are either reused late Roman coins (often cut into halves or fourths) or local imitations of Vandal coins: see Deloum (1986) for M'Sila (Mauretania Sitifensis); Turcan (1961) for Tipasa (Mauretania Caesariensis); Troussel (1950–

51) for Bou Lilate (southern Numidia). The Vandal-period imitations are thought to have been minted under Romano-Berber kings (although they mimic the contemporary Vandal coinage of Carthage): Turcan (1961), 230; Mostecky (1997), 136–39.

104. Camps (1984); Brett and Fentress (1996), 77–78; Warmington (1954), 74–75; Modéran (2003b), 315–415.

105. Procop. *Vand.* 2.19.14–15; Shaw (1984), 145; Modéran (2003b), 387 ff. In their survey of the high plains and mountains of Zana (Mauretania Caesariensis), Fentress, Aït-Kaci, and Bounssair (1993) found a peak of occupation in the fifth century C.E. and continued evidence into the sixth. In his less intensive survey of the Aurès (based on aerial photography), Morizot (1997), esp. 265, found a preponderance of fourth- and fifth-century ceramics and coinage.

106. Warmington (1954), 90; Modéran (1998), 273–77; and Laporte (1999) for church building under the Romano-Libyan kings.

107. Mattingly (1994), 173–75.

108. *Ibid.*, 198–207.

109. McIntosh and McIntosh (1993), esp. 631 and 638.

110. Brett and Fentress (1996), 65; Mattingly (1994), 186–87.

111. N. Duval (1996), 209–10.

112. Troussset (2002) for the border south of the Aurès; Mattingly (1994), 215, and Modéran (2003b), 291–92, for the destruction of Ghirza, probably in the aftermath of the Libyan revolt of 544.

113. For Justinian's building campaign, see Pringle (1981); Liebeschuetz (2001), 100–101; for Carthage, see Roskams (1996), 163; Mattingly and Hitchner (1995), 212. For the restoration and foundation of cities, see Pringle (2002), 274–76; Modéran (1996); and below, [chapter 4](#).

114. See Modéran (2002), 113–21, for the restoration of confiscated estates; Ghalia (2002) for prosperous Byzantine villas at Oued R'mel and Mahrine; De Vos (2000) for an excavated Byzantine farm on an imperial estate near Thugga.

115. Liebeschuetz (2001), 52 and 409–10.

116. Procop. *Vand.* 2.21–28; Pringle (1981), 29–39.

117. Markus (1966); Tilley (1999), 6–7.

118. See Ellis (2005); and below, [chapter 3](#).

119. Panella (1986), 455; P. Reynolds (1993), 41.

120. See Hugoniot (2003), 885–93, for the amphitheaters; N. Duval et al. (2002) for the townhouses; Potter (1995), 49, 67, and *passim*, for civic centers being turned into forts; Roskams (1996), 164, for *fora* becoming cemeteries.

121. See Pringle (1981) for the forts; Modéran (1998), 709–12, for the churches. See Cameron (2000), 568, for a more positive view of Byzantine investment in urban construction.

122. Fulford and Peacock (1984), 110 and 260–61; P. Reynolds (1993), 41.

123. See Reece (1984), 175, who argues that the reintegration of “a small, enclosed, and apparently flourishing, trade pattern of the Vandal kingdom” into the “great trade network of the Empire” had disastrous consequences for the local monetary economy. See Morrisson (1988) for the reuse of *minimi* into the seventh century C.E.

124. For church decoration, see Ghalia (2002); N. Duval (1974); Duval and Février (1972), 30.

125. For the literature of later Byzantine Africa, see Cameron (1993), with an emphasis on Greek outsiders such as Maximus the Confessor. For the seventh century, the only Latin production I know of is the extremely derivative *Concordia canonum* by Cresconius, dated by

some ca. 690 C.E., which draws on Ferrandus of Carthage: *PL* 88: 829–942; bibliography in Dekkers (1995), no. 1769, and Frede (1995), 417. Its most recent editor, however, argues for a provenance from sixth-century Italy, though drawing on North African sources: see Zechiel-Eckes (1992). For North African immigration to Spain, see Fontaine (1983), 854–59.

126. Markus (1979) for the rural bishops; Y. Duval (1982), 1: nos. 106–8 (Sila) and no. 150 (Mezloug), for relic depositions, although the trend was toward the importation of Eastern saints: Y. Duval (1982), 2: 577.

127. Brett (1978); Brett and Fentress (1996), 83–86.

128. See Brett and Fentress (1996), 121, for the last recorded use of Latin from the oases of Djerid ca. 1150 C.E.; N. Duval (1996), 209–10, for eleventh-century epitaphs from Aïn Zara and En Ngila.

129. Shaw (2003), 106, connects North Africa's distinctive rhythm of delayed arrival but speedy adoption of outside influences to its islandlike geography.

2. RURAL CONSUMPTION IN EARLY IMPERIAL NORTH AFRICA

1. Recent discussions of ancient consumption include Scheidel (2007), (2010); Morris (2005), (2007); and Jongman (2007).

2. The main debate is between the “modernists” (also called formalists), who argue that economic growth in the Roman Empire was driven by free markets, and the “primitivists” (also called substantivists), who believe the empire's economy was “embedded” in its political or social structures. Moses Finley has been the most influential of the latter camp. Although the free-market camp was dominant in the 1990s, the “primitivists” have been making a resurgence, driven in part by a growing recognition that our own modern economy is “embedded” in political and social structures. See the introduction to Scheidel, Morris, and Saller (2007); Bang (2007), 5–14.

3. See Scheidel (2009), 50–53; Jongman (2007), 607–8; Köpke and Baten (2005). See also Morris (2005) for ancient Greece.

4. Keenleyside et al.'s (2009) study of the urban site of Leptiminus (Tunisia) is the one exception. It found evidence for a greater reliance on marine food by the fifth century, which may suggest either growing wealth or an increasing exploitation of local food sources.

5. The intensive type includes De Vos (2000) for the Thugga (present-day Dougga) Survey; Dietz, Sebai, and Habib (1995) and Ørsted et al. (2000) for the Segermes Survey; Fentress, Drine, and Holod (2009) for the Jerba Survey; Fentress, Aït-Kaci, and Bounssair (1993) for the Belezma Survey; Wanner (2006) and Hitchner (1988), (1989), (1990), and (1992/1993) for the Cillium (present-day Kasserine) Survey; and Stone, Stirling, and Ben Lazreg (1998) and Stirling et al. (2000) for the Leptiminus Rural Survey. The Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey combined extensive and intensive survey techniques: Barker and Mattingly (1996). The extensive surveys include Greene (1986) and (1992) for the Carthage Survey; Hitchner (1982) for the Brathay Exploration Fund's Sufetula survey; Lev-eau (1984) for the Caesarea Survey; Reddé (1988) for the Syrtic coast of Tripolitania; Rebuffat (1986) for the region of Volubilis; and Younes (1999) for the Thapsus Survey.

6. For the methodology of survey archaeology, see Banning (2002); Barker and Mattingly (1996), 27 (specifically for the Mediterranean); and Barker, “Approaches to archaeological survey,” in Barker and Lloyd (1991).

7. See Hingley (2005), 110–16, for some exceptions.

8. Watson, Le Blanc, and Redman (1984), 119, quoting from June Helms.

9. See O'Brien and Lyman (2000) for an overview of evolutionary archaeology.

10. Watson, Le Blanc, and Redman (1984), esp. 123.

11. This demographic approach is still apparent even in the recent North African surveys;

for example, Dietz (1995), 799: “The curve indicating number of sites in use (i.e. with finewares) and thus probably population continues its increasing tendencies during Vandal times, peaking in the early sixth century CE, when more sites were in use than ever before in the valley.” Cf. Mattingly and Flower (1996), 181.

12. Hodder (1986); Shanks and Tilley (1987). Patterson (2006), 13–24, gives a good overview of the criticisms of archaeological survey, with a focus on Italy.

13. See Pettegrew (2007); the papers in Francovich and Patterson (2000); Alcock and Cherry (2004).

14. Millett (1991), 18.

15. For example, De Vos (2000) for the Thugga Survey. The papers by Helen Patterson and John Hayes in Francovich and Patterson (2000) emphasize the need to combine excavation and survey in order to develop pottery typologies for such local wares.

16. As the ceramicist Lund of the Segermes Survey proposes, “It may be stated—at least as a working hypothesis—that trade and economic activities were at a high level in periods with a high number of finewares, whereas intervals with few such finds were times of recession and decline” ([1995], 453). In Fentress and Perkins’s terms, fineware can serve as “some form of index of economic well-being” ([1988], 211). For fineware as an indication of adherence to a “Roman” way of dining, see Hingley (2005), 110–11.

17. *Opus signinum* was pavement made of mortar mixed with crushed ceramic, which colored it red. It was cheaper than mosaic and more waterproof, which made it a popular choice for baths and bathrooms.

18. Millett (2000), 55: “Our reliance on such pottery (which is greatly accentuated in studies where local pottery has not even been collected) almost certainly biases our dating towards the periods when interregional exchange was at its greatest and skews our results towards those places which were most heavily engaged in those exchange systems.”

19. Mattingly (1985); Greene (1986); Stone (1997).

20. Veg. *Mil.* 1.1.

21. Greene (1986); Mattingly and Hitchner (1995); Stone (1997).

22. Most notably, the Thugga Survey, because it took into account the handmade pottery and discovered significantly more sites datable to the late Punic period than to the first three hundred years of Roman rule: De Vos (2000). Other recent publications presenting a more vibrant pre-Roman countryside include Fentress (2000), (2001), (2006); Berthier (2000); and Ferchiou (1990).

23. Fentress (2000), (2001), and (2008), 115–22. See now the final report in Fentress, Drine, and Holod (2009).

24. See Van Dommelen and Finocchi (2008) for Punic settlement in coastal Sardinia, consisting of small towns (“agricultural centers”), numerous dispersed farms, and small villages.

25. Fantar (1984–86), vol. 2.

26. *Ibid.*, 2: 338–43.

27. *Ibid.*, 2: 3–18.

28. Diod. Sic. *Bib.* 20.8.2–4 (trans. Geer); Stone (1997), 79; Fentress (2006), 6–7. Diodorus is writing about a Greek mercenary’s invasion of Cap Bon in 310 B.C.E.

29. At Kerkouane, cut stone blocks were used only for stairs, wells, and the bases for the columns: Fantar (1984–86) 2: 96. Cf. the late Punic houses of the Byrsa in Carthage: Lancel, Robine, and Thuillier (1980), 16–21.

30. See Berthier (1980) for a block of houses at Cirta that has been dated to the first half of the second century B.C.E. These houses were laid out in an orderly fashion, five on each side of a rectangular insula that was divided by a central wall. Each rectangular house consisted of two or three rooms entered from each other, not from a central court or corridor. The

construction materials were similar to Kerkouane—stone foundations without mortar, upper walls of *pisé*, packed earth floors, roofs of something other than roof tiles: Berthier (1980), 21. There was little if any stucco, *opus signinum*, mosaic, or columns, but if the amount of fineware and money is any indication, the inhabitants of these houses were not poor.

31. Brett and Fentress (1996), 32–33; Mattingly (1994), 42; Fentress (2006), 13–22; Van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard (2008), 210–11.

32. For Tunisia, see Ferchiou (1990); (1995b), 140; Ben Hassen and Maurin (1998), 185–88 and 228. For Numidia, see Brett and Fentress (1996), 32 ff.; Berthier (2000). Ferchiou (1990) discusses the construction techniques of the *oppida*.

33. See Briese and Lund (2000), 217–21, for Djebel Zid and Sidi Ahmed Rouigued. Finds of black gloss fineware, amphoras, and Punic coins provide a terminus post quem of the early third century B.C.E. for the occupation of the *oppida*.

34. Ferchiou (1990), 68.

35. Berthier (2000), 100.

36. See Ferchiou (1990); (1995b), 140–42; and Ben Hassen and Maurin (1998), 185 ff., for *oppida* associated with temples and necropoleis. For the pottery and metal workshops and temples at pre-Roman Tiddis, see Berthier (2000), 163–86, 405–23, and 394–96.

37. Ben Younès (1986), (1988); Gobert and Cintas (1941); and esp. Ferchiou (1995b), 141, who characterizes them as “groupements communautaires non fortifiés.” In inland Sardinia, large villages from the late Punic period are associated with similar “single large rural cemeter[ies]”: Van Dommelen (2008), 199–200.

38. See Lucan. 9.945 for “crude *mapalia* rising up with straw heaped together;” Pliny *Nat.* 16.178 for Moors using strong, stiff rushes to roof their *mapalia*; Sil. 17.88–89 for a comparison to camps covered with light canes and reeds.

39. The association of *mapalia* with pastoralists is found in Virg. *Georg.* 3.339–40; Mart. 8.53.3; Sil. 17.89; Pliny *Nat.* 5.22. Their connection to farmers is attested not only by Mela 1.4, but also by Sall. *Iug.* 18.8, which defines them as the buildings of Numidian *agrestes*. See Leveau (1993), 164–65.

40. Sall. *Iug.* 46.5. The context is Metellus’s campaign in Numidia in the summer of 109 B.C.E.

41. Mattingly (1994), 42–49; Brett and Fentress (1996), 42 and 289 n. 60.

42. Barker (1996), 105; Barker and Mattingly (1996) 1: 116–118. Cf. Zinkekra in the Fazzan, where occupation ended by the first century B.C.E.: Mattingly et. al. (2003), 136–39 and 162–63.

43. Barker (1996), 89, gives a list of sites associated with Neolithic tools in the Libyan Valleys Survey: for example, Gh 11—two huts of 20 m² and 30 m² associated with Neolithic flints and a sherd of early Roman ARS 3. True nomadism was rare in pre-Roman North Africa: Mattingly (1995), 37–38; Fentress (1979), 18–60 and 66–67.

44. This is true for Kerkouane, the Byrsa of Carthage, and the house block at Cirta: Fantar (1984–86), vol. 2; Lancel, Robine, and Thuillier (1980); Berthier (1980).

45. See Westgate (2007) for the connection between the Greek house and the ideal of citizenship. See also Blanton (1994), 189–93, for the tendency of highly integrated communities in core regions to avoid conspicuous display in domestic architecture.

46. See Chelbi (1992) 18 ff., for a history of North African black gloss. Morel (1981) discusses the continued popularity of drinking vessels in North African black gloss after the Italian workshops cease producing them. Cf. Chelbi (1992), nos. 81, 317–25, and 506.

47. Lancel (1987).

48. Picard (1959).

49. See Stone (2004), 135–38, for the difficulties in dating pre-Roman settlement in North Africa.

50. See Ben Hassen and Maurin (1998), 187, for Haggaf; Berthier (2000), 324–25, for Tiddis. At Ichoukane (the predecessor of Thamugadi), black gloss was present as well as lots of wheel-made coarsewares (E. Fentress, personal communication, May 29, 2001).

51. Barker (1996), 105.

52. Ciotola (2000), 58. For doubts about the accuracy of this survey because of its classification of all handmade pottery as pre-Roman, see Wilson (2001a), 187.

53. Hitchner (1988), 21: at KS 010 in Sector 1, a sherd from the second century B.C.E.; Leveau (1984), 450.

54. Greene (1986). Even the more intensive Segermes and Leptiminus surveys discovered little or (in the case of Leptiminus) no black gloss outside the towns: Lund (1995), 473; Stone (1997), 113.

55. See Van der Werff (1984) for a discussion of how this pottery may have been produced.

56. For funerary contexts, see Van der Werff (1984), supplemented by Ben Younès (1986) and (1988), Ben Younès-Krandel (1992–93), and Ghaki (1999).

57. Ben Younès (1986), (1988).

58. Gobert and Cintas (1941).

59. See Ciotola (2000), 59, for Thugga; Kallala et. al. (2008), 86–89, for Althiburos; Van der Werff (1982) for Uzita (where it constituted 8 percent of a residual late Punic assemblage in Level 2); Fantar (1984–86), vol. 1, for Kerkouane; Berthier (2000), 173 ff., for Tiddis; Bourgeois (1977), 89–95, 98–139, 141–47, and 167–85, for Mactar; Vegas (1989) for Simithu; Van der Werff (1984), 125, for references to other sites.

60. Van der Werff (1984), 130.

61. These statements are based on Chelbi's (1992) catalog of black gloss found at Carthage and Fantar's (1984–86), vol. 1, discussion of the ceramic from Kerkouane. Among the fourth-century B.C.E. forms published by Chelbi, there was a preponderance of small (ca. 12 cm diameter) bowls and drinking vessels. After 300 B.C.E., these were supplanted by shallow dishes with horizontal flanges and high bases, very small, two-handled cups, and small, deep bowls. The pottery from the necropolis of Kerkouane (the only pottery quantified) suggests that, at least among the elite, plates were more common than drinking vessels or bowls. Shallow dishes outnumber the bowls 54 percent to 23 percent. As at Carthage, most of the bowls found were small.

62. See Bats (1988) for how similar changes in vessel form reflect the Hellenization of diet in Provence and Rome, and Moscati (1972), 23, for references in Roman literature to Carthaginian porridge eating (mainly Plautus and Varro, who gives a recipe for "Punic" porridge).

63. The data is from Van der Werff (1982) for Uzita; Ben Younès (1986) and (1988) for El Hkayma; Gobert and Cintas (1941) for Smirat.

64. See Ben Younès-Krandel (1992–93). In the survey of the Thugga territory as a whole, bowls of ca. 20–23 cm in diameter proved the most common form: Ciotola (2000), 59 and tav. IX 2–3.

65. Mela 1.8.43 ff.; Sall. *Iug.* 75.4 for the wooden vessels of the Numidians; Ael. *Nat. Anim.* 14.5 for the skins of the Mauri; and Strabo 17.3.7 for the Pharusians in the interior below the Mauri.

66. Brogan and Smith (1984).

67. Mattingly (1996), 321.

68. Lepelletier (1998), 71–112; MacMullen (2000), 30–49.

69. The Carthage Survey sites with late Punic (300–100 B.C.E.) pottery are *1013, 1016, *1024, 1025, 1029, 1031, *1052, *1037, *1059, 1062, 1063, 1072, *1074, 1075, *1079, *1080, 3, 5, *7, *19, *21, 22, *23, 28, *40 (asterisks indicate those that continued to be

occupied in the early Roman period). The Carthage sites with first century B.C.E. / C.E. pottery are 1013, *1017, *1018, 1024, *1026, *1033, 1037, *1042, *1050, 1052, *1053, 1059, *1065, *1066, 1069, 1074, 1079, 1080, 7, *18, 19, 21, 23, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42 (asterisks indicate “new” sites). The total is twenty-nine sites, ten of them (35 percent) new. A 1.0 sherd standard for judging “occupation” was used. The data is from Greene (1986).

70. Fentress (2000), 80: “It is not until the beginning of the second century AD that we begin to see major changes taking place in the settlement patterns of the island.”

71. This calculation is based on the occupation charts in De Vos (2000).

72. Kosso (2003), 36–39, cites a 3-percent site continuity between the Hellenistic and early Roman periods for the Argolid Survey; 33 percent for the Boiotian Survey; 27 percent for the Nemea Survey, and 14 percent for the Keos Survey.

73. MacMullen (2000), 43.

74. See Leglay (1968), 234–46; Lepelley (1998), 85, for the stele; Brouquier-Reddé (1992), 29; Leglay (1968), 237; and Cherif (1997), 26 n. 100, for the sanctuaries at Sabratha, Hadrumetum, Thinissut, and El-Kenissia. Hurst (1999) has argued that the tophet of Tanit at Carthage survived as the sanctuary of Caelestis until the fifth century C.E.

75. See Brouquier-Reddé (1992), 130–32, for a rural sanctuary to Baal Ammon in Tripolitania, dated 15–17 C.E.; Stone (2007) and Mattingly (1994), 162–63, for the spread of the Punic obelisk tomb during the first and second centuries C.E.; Berthier (2000), 414, for Tiddis.

76. See Cordsen, Holtén, and Nielsen (1995), 399, 401, and 402, for some excavated first-century C.E. structures in the Segermes area; and Munzi (1998), di Vita (1966), and Masturzo and Ben Rabha (1997) for coastal farms (later villas) near Lepcis Magna.

77. Fulford (1989b), 184.

78. Van der Werff (1982); Ciotola (2000), 59 n. 272.

79. For the production of Neo-Punic amphoras until the third quarter of the first century C.E., see Van der Werff (1977/78) and now Freed (1998), 33–35.

80. See Fulford and Peacock (1994), 58, for the direct link between Form 3.5 (African Black Top casseroles) and late Punic casseroles; and Dore and Keay (1989), 101, for the link between ARS 181 and the late Punic Type 16 (the equivalent of Van der Werff’s Rood Byzaceens Gebruiks aardewerk). This continuity of cooking ware suggests that North Africa was not heavily colonized. Contrast the dramatic change in cookware at Tel Anafa (Israel), which probably reflects the presence of Italian settlers: Berlin (1997), 31 ff.

81. For the dominance of imported fineware in North Africa during the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., see Fulford (1989b) for Sabratha and Berenice; Fulford (1983) for Carthage; Van der Werff (1982) for Uzita; and Walda et al. (1997) for a house at Lepcis Magna. For bronze beakers imported from Italy during the first half of the first century C.E., see Boubé-Piccot (1987–88). For glass imports of the first century C.E., primarily from Italy, see Baratte (1989), 145–46; for an early first-century C.E. context at Carthage, Freed (1998), 30.

82. Guéry (1985), 338–42, for Sitifis; Berthier (2000), 352–53, for Tiddis; and D. Bailey (1988), 170, and Freed (1998), 27, in general.

83. See Freed (1998), 33, for an assemblage from Carthage dated to 15 C.E. (70 percent imported); Fulford (1989b), 182, for the Augustan imports at Sabratha (17.5 percent from Italy; 2.5 percent from Spain; 12.5 percent unassigned).

84. Wilson (2001b); Tomber (1987); Ben Hassen and Maurin (1998), 77–78. The bricks have plausibly been suggested to have been ballast for the return voyage from delivering the grain shipments to Rome rather than trade goods in their own right.

85. Fulford (1983), 12.

86. Ciotola (2000), 58–59. There were 54 sites dated 100–300 C.E. and 132 dated 300–430/451 C.E. See, however, Wilson (2001a) for doubts about the dating of the handmade

pottery.

87. Greene (1986). The number of sites with at least one datable sherd rises to twenty-two in the first century C.E. and then falls to twelve in the second century C.E. The unusually high number in the first century C.E. has to do with the easy identification of even body sherds of Italian *terra sigillata* and its narrow time frame in Africa.

88. Quinn (2003), 15 (a decline from seventeen to eleven sites). The quantity of datable pottery also declined at the sites that continued to be inhabited—for example, at the small Punic *oppidum* of Haggaf near the Roman colony Uthina: Ben Hassen and Maurin (1998), 187.

89. These numbers are for the stray bronze and lead coins found in the excavations: Berthier (2000), 282–85. If we include the coins from the late antique coin hoards (also all bronze or lead), the numbers are 848 coins from 300–1 B.C.E. (712 “Numidian”), 132 from the first century C.E., and the same number (132) from the second century C.E.: Berthier, 287–88.

90. Grinder-Hansen (1995), 633–45.

91. Abram (2000), 78–80. A total of twenty-two coins were found, the majority late Roman.

92. For example, Kenrick (1986), 269–70, for Sabratha where 42 percent of the coins are dated to mid-fourth to mid-second century B.C.E., and less than 3 percent date to the period between 150 B.C.E. and 100 C.E. There is a resurgence of coins in the later third and fourth centuries C.E., but the numbers never reach Punic levels again.

93. For the “deindustrialization” of nineteenth-century India, see Yang (1998), 17, 55, 59, 78, etc.; Williamson (2004).

94. For the chronology of “Romanization” in North Africa, see Lepelley (1998), esp. 85; Fentress (2006), with bibliography. For some recent applications of postcolonial approaches such as creolization and “discrepant identities” to the Roman provinces, see Hingley (2005); Webster (2001); Mattingly (2004).

95. Bang (2007), 46–47; Garnsey (1978), esp. 247 ff.

96. As has been discussed by Fentress (2006) and Mattingly (1997), 129.

97. Fentress (2000), 82–83.

98. For this classic North African farm type, see Percival (1979), 63 ff.; Rebuffat (1988), esp. 47 ff. (“fermes à cour”); and Fentress (2008) for Jerba.

99. See Ferchiou (1990) for Kef Rechga, Kalaat Bezzaz, Henchir Oued Omrane (near Mactar), and El Golfea near Kairouan. At Ichoukane in Numidia, black gloss was present as well as lots of wheel-made coarseware, but no Roman fineware (E. Fentress, personal communication, May 29, 2001).

100. Fentress (2000), 83.

101. Hitchner (1992/1993). The gazetteer does show three sites with a small amount of first- or second-century ceramic: Wanner (2006), 119 and 188.

102. See Hayes (1972) for ARS Form 4 and 5 imitating Italian *sigillata* Dragendorff forms 15/17 and 18, respectively; Ben Moussa (2008), 34–35.

103. Freed (1998), 29–30, with references.

104. For the urban nature of most North African manufacturing during the Principate, see Wilson (2002). Bagnall (1995), 127–30 and 314–16, discusses similar developments in Egypt, though their chronology differs.

105. Fentress (2000), 83: “Henceforward all pottery production seems to have been concentrated on the periphery of Meninx.”

106. Peacock, Bejaoui, and Ben Lazreg (1990). See also Stirling, Mattingly, and Ben Lazreg (2001) and Moore (2008) for Leptiminus; Bonifay (2004), 29–41, for North Africa as a whole.

107. See Wilson (2002) for Sabratha (fish-salting, purple dye, plaster, and glass) and Thamusia (purple dye, fish-salting, metal); Mattingly et al. (2001) and Stirling and Ben Lazreg (2001) for Leptiminus (amphoras, coarsewares, iron, fish-salting); Wilson (2001c) and (2002) for Thamugadi (cloth, bronze, lamps); H. Slim and L. Slim (1996), 27–30, for Thysdrus (bone, spoons, masks, figurines, etc.); Baratte (1989), 144 / *CIL* 8.9430 for a glass workshop at Caesarea; and Dunbabin (1978), 18–23, for North African mosaic production.

108. See especially Wilson (2002), the papers in Parkins (1997), and Mattingly et al. (2001), challenging M. Finley's theory of the "consumer" city.

109. See Berthier (2000), 363–65, for the cessation of local production at Tiddis in the early imperial period and its subsequent dependence on imports.

110. See Munzi (1998) for Wadi Er-Rsaf; Di Vita (1966) for Tagiura; Masturzo and Ben Rabha (1997) for Haleb al-Karuba (near Silin); and Aurigemma (1926), 86–90 (with the redating by Parrish 1985), for Zliten. For the coastal maritime villas east of Sabratha, see L. Alcock (1950); Percival (1979), 66, for those near Tipasa and Hippo Regius. Ellis (2005), 91, discusses the rarity of such luxury villas outside the coast.

111. See El-Nemsi (1997) and Mattingly (1985) for the epigraphic evidence; Munzi (1998) for the occupational history of Wadi Er-Rsaf.

112. See Oates (1953), 92, for the Wadi Udei el-Me; 96–97, for Wadi et-Tmarmura; 97, for Henscir Sidi Haman.

113. For example, the large courtyard farm at the Wadi al-Fani in Tripolitania had a residential quarter: Masturzo and Ben Rabha (1997). Other imperial courtyard farms with residential quarters are published in Oates (1953) for Tripolitania (Sites 9, 13, and 14), and Ponsich (1964) for Jorf el Mahra in Morocco.

114. See Anselmino et al. (1989), 193–201 and 147–48, for the bronze and glass at the early imperial levels of Nador; Cadenat (1974) for bronze at the first-century "villa" of Aïn Sarb near Tiaret, Algeria. The prevalence of *sigillata* will be discussed below.

115. Daniels (1995); Thébert (1987).

116. Van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard (2008), 206–7; Fentress (2001) for the Jerba Survey.

117. For these comparisons with Roman Italy, I have made use of the house plans published in Wallace-Hadrill (1994), De Kind (1998), and Meiggs (1960), esp. 254–57. It should be noted that the presence of doors and screens would have given the Italian houses more privacy than is apparent from their ruins.

118. See Carucci (2008), R. Daniels (1995), Rebuffat (1969), and Gozlan (1971–72) for North African houses; Wallace-Hadrill (1994), De Kind (1998), and Meiggs (1960), esp. 254–57, for Italian. Of the eighteen house plans from Proconsularis in Rebuffat (1969), only two had centrally located vestibules. Ten had entrances to the left or right of the peristyle (and often separated from it by a room or narrow corridor as well). The others had more complicated entrances, such as corridors from which most of the rooms (and the peristyle) opened, instead of the peristyle being in the center of the house. I have excluded the houses from Carthage.

119. Nevett (2001) discusses how similar features in Greek domestic architecture might reflect gendered space.

120. See Van der Werff (1982): 57 percent medium bowls and 22 percent flat plates, versus 60 percent and 29 percent in the late Punic period.

121. The first- and second-century C.E. ARS of the Segermes Survey (115 diagnostic sherds) consists of fifty-two shallow bowls (12–18 cm): ARS 5 (fourteen); ARS 4 (seven), 3 (twenty), 6 (eleven); forty-one medium-sized deep bowls: ARS 9A (seventeen), 7 (five), 8 (nine), 14A (three), 34 (seven); seven small bowls: ARS 2/3 (two), 14/17 (two), 16 (one), 17B (one); twelve flat plates: Atl. 17.17 (three), ARS 24 (one), 27 (eight); two jugs: ARS 126, 158 var.; and one large bowl: ARS 11. The data is from Lund (1995).

122. Guéry (1985), 343–60: medium-sized (ca. 15 cm diameter) bowls, most of them fairly shallow, accounted for 41 percent of the “fineware”; thin-walled goblets made up 42 percent; and casseroles and jugs the rest. The coarseware consisted of more jugs and bowls, the latter slightly larger than their ARS equivalents. Medium bowls were also the predominant form of coarseware imitation at Volubilis from the second century B.C.E. to the fourth century C.E.: see S. Leclercq (2008).

123. Thugga, slaves serving wine: Dunbabin (1978), no. 114 / pl. 45; Blanchard-Lemée et al. (1996), fig. 48, dated to the second half of the third century. The drinker on the left holds out a large shallow orange bowl, and the drinker on the right a smaller, deeper orange bowl.

124. Ben Hassen and Maurin (1998), 73–74. This mosaic was found in a peristyle house of Uthina (Oudna) and is dated between 200 and 300 C.E.

125. Dunbabin (1978), 78 / pl. 69; Blanchard-Lemée et al. (1996), fig. 155; discussed by Salomonson (1960).

126. See Dunbabin (1995) for this difference between Roman and Greek drinking.

127. The sample of Italian sarcophagi is from Himmelmann (1973), nos. 24a, 24b, 25, 26, 33, 34b, 35a, 36a, 36b, 37a, 37b, 42a, 43, 44a, 44b, 45a, 45b, 45c, 46c, 47b, 47c, 47d, 48a, 48b, and 49a, all dated to the third or fourth century C.E.

128. Cf. Woolf (1998), 203, for the similar creation of a provincial tradition in Gaul.

129. Mattingly (1997), 131, describes such regions as “landscape[s] of resistance.”

130. Fentress, Aït-Kaci, and Bounssair (1993), 109, suggests that the absence of earlier fineware has to do with the depth of early imperial remains.

131. See Guéry (1985), 343–44, for coarseware imitations of thin-walled cups; 346–49, for imitations of second-century ARS.

132. See Guéry (1985), 338–41, for first-century Italian lamps in second- and third-century tombs. Guéry suggests that the first-century lamps were imported from other, more Romanized parts of North Africa, since Sitifis wasn’t even founded until Nerva’s reign.

133. Fentress (1990), 121.

134. The chronology is from Dietz’s “first-use diagram” ([1995], 777), and the size of site from the architectural catalogue (Hansen [1995]). Only the sites with more than one datable sherd have been considered. Note that “sherd” here and in the rest of the chapter typically means rim sherd.

135. The data is from Brathay Exploration Group’s survey of Sufetula, as summarized with Hayes’s ceramic dating in Hitchner (1982), 83–100. This survey’s publication is incomplete. It is likely that the eleven “olive farms” without any area given were somewhat smaller, perhaps resembling the 1,000–10,000 m² farms of the Cillium region.

136. Hitchner (1988): KS 060, KS 010, KS 004, and KS 001.

137. Hitchner (1988): KS 022 (8.8 ha), a villa with hamlet, and the agricultural town Ksar el Guelal (53.3 ha).

138. Hitchner (1992/1993), 165: KS 003, a two-room, L-shaped building of clay-packed *opus africanum*. Its *opus africanum* construction and *opus signinum* surface suggest a higher status than its size would warrant. The eighth site with second-century finewares—KS 052—was an enclosure for four cisterns, without visible architectural remains.

139. See Hitchner (1992/1993), 170, for the early third-century finewares at the hut clusters (“indigenous habitats”) KS 027 and KS 083; Hitchner, 165, for KS 006; Neuru (1990) for fineware becoming common only in the fourth century.

140. See Leveau (1984), 402, for a list of farms by size; 412–14, for the sizes of the agglomerations. The ceramic is published in the catalogue. The only small site was no. 132 (the remains of a 40 m² “hut” associated with ARS 8).

141. Millett (1990), 98, similarly explains the abundance of Samian ware and brooches at first-century C.E. British sites as distribution through preexisting social networks, “giving us a

brief glimpse of the social organization of the conquered people.”

142. S. Alcock (1993), 58–63, using data from the Argolid Exploration Project, Nemea Valley Archaeological Project, Melos Survey, and Northwest Keos Survey.

143. S. Alcock (1993), 40–42. In the Argolid, seventy-eight sites were dated with certainty to the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.E., falling to ten sites for the early Roman period (first century B.C.E.-third century C.E.), and rising to sixty-nine during the late empire.

144. S. Alcock (1993), 59..

145. Lloyd (1991) for Samnium; Rasmussen (1991) for Tuscania; Patterson (1987), 134–44, for the territories of Luni, Fregellae, and the Valle d’Oro. In southern Italy, the nadir of visible settlement occurred in the late Republic, making the early empire a period of growth, but early imperial sites still tended to be large farms and, to a lesser extent, villages: Gualtieri and de Polignac (1991) for Lucania; Small (1991) for Basilicata and Apulia (in Venosa and the Via Herculia area, only three of forty-one sites are <1000 m²; in the Gravina and Fossa Bradanica area, three of nineteen; and in the San Giovanni area, none of twenty-seven).

146. S. Alcock (1993), 62.

147. Gualtieri (1991), 201: “Concentration of land into larger estates appears to have been a general trend in early Imperial times.” For similar conclusions, see Lloyd (1991); Patterson (1987) and (2006), 46–57.

148. Oates (1953), 101: “It is obvious that there is no accommodation for a large number of labourers within the walls, and many of them probably lived in less permanent dwellings round about; some of the ruined huts, at present undatable, which dot the Gebel hillsides may well be of the Roman period.” The practice of grouping small dwellings, probably for farmworkers, immediately around the main farm appears to date to the late empire in North Africa: see Whittaker and Garnsey (1998), 283–86.

149. For the concept of differential access to artifacts, see Wason (1994), 103–26.

150. Barker (1995), 225.

151. Trément (2000), 80 and fig. 9.7.

152. Mee et al. (1991), 225. This pattern continues in the late Roman period: Mee et al., 227. The inland rural sites of Cilicia similarly failed to obtain fineware in either the early or the late Roman period, in contrast to coastal rural sites: Varinlioglu (2008), 152–58.

153. Hansen (1995): Segermes sites C 16–3 (76 m²); F 18–3 (4.3 m span); F 18–1. The cement tomb (F17–3) is 15 m east of F 18–1. The first-century phase at K-15 in the Segermes region was built out of a similar boulder and clay construction: see Cordsen, Holten, and Nielsen (1995), 399, 401, and 402, for Structure AB.2 associated with Stratum 22.

154. Leveau (1984), nos. 217 and 218, p. 384. No. 217 (“restes de cabanes aux angles arrondis”) is associated with sherds of ARS A. The other small sites interpreted as dispersed peasant habitations from the Roman period are nos. 22 (a two-room farm with olive press but no ceramic), 132 (the remains of a 10 m by 4 m “hut” associated with ARS 8), 134 (a small house associated with red coarseware), 135 (dry stone walls associated with beige coarseware), and 26 (the remains of several small houses associated with a small olive press and red and beige coarseware).

155. Leveau (1984), 411. It was only when he employed systematic survey techniques in the Sidi Ghilès area that he found Sites 132, 134, and 135.

156. Map in Scott, Dore, and Mattingly (1996), 20, fig. 1.2.

157. Leveau (1984), 258, 338, 371.

158. For the late date of the *Metamorphoses*, see Griffiths (1975), 10–14; Walsh (1994), xx; Harrison (2000), 10. For facts about Apuleius, Walsh (1994), xi–xiii.

159. One version of the Greek novel *Lucius or the Ass* has survived in the manuscripts of Lucian. According to Photios, however, *Lucius or the Ass* was an epitome of a longer *Metamorphoseis* by Lucius of Patra: Phot. *Cod.* 129, quoted and analyzed by Van Thiel

(1971), 1–7. Apuleius’s main narrative bears a strong resemblance to *Lucius*, but many of the anecdotes—the so-called “fabulae”—are not found in *Lucius* at all. Most scholars accept that these *fabulae* were added by Apuleius, not drawn from lost *Metamorphoseis*: see Mason (1978). Moreover, it has been demonstrated that even in those parts of his text that resemble *Lucius* most closely, Apuleius rarely follows the Greek novel for more than a sentence or two and usually changes details for his own comic or other purposes: Bianco (1971); Harrison (2000), 222–25. Despite Millar’s (1981) emphasis on the novel’s purported Greek setting, the details of daily life are more likely to reflect Apuleius’s own North African context.

160. Charite’s family owned a slave-run estate devoted to horse raising far from the *civitas* where they resided: *Met.* 7.15; a man inhabiting a rich *domus* in a *civitas* was given venison from a *colonus*, which implies that he must have possessed an estate: *Met.* 8.31; a rich young noble “cuncta facile faciens in civitate” possessed a large and rich rural estate (*ager*), which he sometimes visited: *Met.* 9.35. Other estates with absentee owners include a large *possessio* with storehouses and a well, managed by a slave overseer and his wife: *Met.* 8.22; and a villa inhabited by *coloni*: *Met.* 8.17.

161. The woman’s family was fairly wealthy: they owned multiple slaves (*Lucius* 1.34), and the young woman and her fiancé had a sumptuous wedding (*Lucius* 1.27).

162. See *Met.* 4.23, 4.26, 7.13, and 8.1 for Charite’s family’s wealth and urban residence.

163. See *Met.* 9.33 for grain, olives, and chickens, and *Met.* 9.34.9 for the fermenting wine in *dolia* in the *cella vinaria*. The owner had a slave boy who looked after the hens, another slave who reported news about the wine *dolia*, and a third who reported the death of his sons.

164. *Met.* 9.33.

165. For the North African *pagi*, see Picard (1969); Broughton (1929), 213–16: “associations of proprietors of scattered pieces of land”; Kornemann (1942): “quasistädtischorganisiert”; and, most recently, Gasco (1983), esp. 205, who considers a *pagus* (at least in Numidia) a “district” of Roman citizens with its own magistrates (*magistri*) and a good chance of eventually becoming an autonomous *res publica*.

166. *Isid. Orig.* 15.12.1.

167. *Met.* 9.32: “frondoso casulae . . . umbraculo.”

168. Apuleius has changed the one farm (*epaulis*) in *Lucius*, inhabited by slaves, to multiple *casula* / *casae*.

169. See *Met.* 7. 15 for selling ground barley to “colonis proximis” and *Met.* 7.20 for the ass bearing wood to a nearby *casula* to sell.

170. *Met.* 3.29: “multas villulas et casas amplas praeteriremus”; *Met.* 9.4: “nec paucis casulis atque castellis oberratis” and again “nec paucis pererratis casulis.”

171. *Castellum* is the main term for “village” in North African texts; the term *vicus* is rarely used for rural settlements (as opposed to urban streets / neighborhoods). See Rebuffat (1993) for the North African *castella*.

172. *Met.* 8.17.

173. For example, at the miser Milo’s house in Hypata, the food was served in small dishes (*vascula*) and the wine in jugs (*cadi*). The diners drank out of *calices* by the light of oil lamps: *Met.* 2.11.9, 2.17.1. A dinner for a wealthy man’s corpse in Laressa was complete with lamps, a decorated plate (*discus*), *calix*, and *oenophorus*: *Met.* 2.14.13. *Calices* and an *oenophorus* are brought for Charite’s suitor in a *civitas*: *Met.* 8.11.7.

174. A wealthy man in a *civitatulum* had luxurious meals and golden *canthari*: *Met.* 10.16.26; a wealthy woman in Corinth had a *vasculum* of lead and silver alloy: *Met.* 10.21.3; *Lucius*’s relative Byrrhena had *calices* of inlaid glass, crystal, and silver: *Met.* 2.19.4.

175. *Met.* 10.13.11.

176. *Met.* 9.41.14.

177. *Met.* 8.28.19. For an indication that *cadi* were breakable and thus probably ceramic,

cf. Ov. *Met.* 12.247: “fragilesque cadi.”

178. *Met.* 9.33.8 (no parallel in *Lucius*).

179. *Met.* 9.33: “sacculo et utribus vacuis secum.”

180. *Met.* 9.23.14 and 9.24.12.

181. *Met.* 9.5.13 (no parallel in *Lucius*).

182. *Met.* 9.5.16–18: “ego misera pernox et per diem lanificio nervos meos contorqueo, ut intra cellulam nostram saltem lucerna luceat.”

183. See *CIL* 8.1641 = *ILS* 6818 / Duncan-Jones (1974), 145, for an inscription from Sicca Veneria (170s C.E.), giving HS 10 a month per head to boys and HS 8 to girls. Duncan-Jones (1974), 250, considers Apuleius’s price for the *dolium* relatively realistic.

184. For the characterization of the peasant as primarily engaged in subsistence farming and isolated from the market, see Garnsey (1976); Finley (1999), 107; Bang (2008), 78–79; all, to varying degrees, were influenced by the theories of the early twentieth-century economist Alexander Chayanov. This construct of the peasant has been questioned by Horden and Purcell (2000), 270–78, and Van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard (2008), 229, drawing on more recent anthropological work.

185. De Ligt (1991), esp. 42–58; (1993a), 134. In *Met.* 7.15 the horse-keeper’s wife grinds flour to sell to the neighbors (*vicini*) and barley to sell to the neighboring *coloni* (not necessarily the same people); in *Met.* 7.19 the horse-keeper’s boy carts *stuppa* (the raw material for making rope) and in *Met.* 7.20 wood from the hills to sell at a nearby *casula*. More expensive items were redistributed at village auctions: the miller bought the ass at an auction in a *pagus* (*Met.* 9.9). After his death, his daughter would sell it along with furniture at an auction at the *castellum* (*Met.* 9.31).

186. For the contrast with the rural economies of classical Greece, see Gallego (2007), esp. 11–12. The contrast with late antiquity will be explored in the [chapter 3](#).

187. For the lack of integration with urban markets in North Africa, see Stone, Stirling, and Ben Lazreg (1998), 307; and for the relative weakness of early imperial coarseware production, see Fulford and Peacock (1984), (1994); Peacock, Bejaoui, and Ben Lazreg (1990); Bonifay (2004).

188. See Scheidel (2009) for the “proxy indicators” of economic growth such as shipwrecks and air pollution pointing to a first-century C.E. peak in economic production; see Erdkamp (1999) for rural underemployment.

189. “Social constraints” is my term for what has been called “transaction costs” by economists: see Frier and Kehoe (2007), 117–18.

190. See Hingley (2005), esp. 113–16, for cultural resistance. The strongest recent proponent of inequality is Walter Scheidel. His recent hypothetical, yet plausible, model of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of the second-century Roman Empire—and of the likely share that the poorest 90 percent of the population would have had of it—proposes a surplus of only 15–16 percent above consumption for the bottom 90 percent, leading him to the conclusion that “physical evidence of Roman prosperity in the form of infrastructure and traded goods will therefore best be understood as the most visible manifestation of demand generated by the most affluent tenth of society” (Scheidel and Friesen 2009, 91).

191. Alexander (1999) and (2004).

192. Alexander (1999), 116, and (2004), 75–89 and 142–47. The mean number of metal and glazed ceramic artifacts found per house lot was 33.5 and 20 for the pueblo, as opposed to 8.0 and 1.75 for the rancho and only 2.0 and 3.75 for the peasant lots on the hacienda: Alexander (2004), 142.

193. Columella 11.1.23 (emphasis mine); from De Ligt (1993a), 165. Cf. Varro *Rust.* 1.16.5 and Cato *Agr.* 5.2 and 5.4.

194. Call. *Dig.* 50.11.2, ed. Watson, 926; reference from De Ligt (1993a), 221.

195. *Moret*. 82–83 (emphasis mine).
196. Virg. *Georg.* 1.273. Millstones, interestingly, were virtually the only commodity from the imperial period that was found in the rural part of the Leptiminus Survey: Stone, Stirling, and Ben Lazreg (1998).
197. *Vita Aesopi* c. 57–58, ed. B. E. Perry, *Aesopica* (Urbana, 1952), 1: 54; reference from De Ligt (1993a), 144.
198. See Virg. *Georg.* 3.465 for the contrast between the undyed white wool of the farmer and the “Assyrian” dyes of the rich. See [chapter 3](#) for a discussion of the mosaic representations of rustic dress.
199. For rustics’ ignorance of bathhouses, note Vegetius 1.3 and Shenoute, *Adversus Saturnum* II, ed. Wiesmann, 47.
200. For references, see [chapter 3](#).
201. Isid. *Orig.* 15.12.4. Apul. *Met.* 2.4 refers to the court of a peristyle courtyard house as an *atrium*.
202. See Bang (2008), 104–5, for the manipulation of tax collection. For the workshops, a key text is *Lex Ursonensis* 76, ed. S. Riccobono et al., *Fontes iuris Romani antejustiniani*, vol. 1 (Florence, 1968): “No person shall possess within the town of the colony Julia pottery works or a tile factory of larger size than to produce 300 tiles per day. If any person possesses such works or factory, the said building and ground shall become the public property of the colony Julia” (trans. Johnson, Coleman-Norton, and Bourne [1961]). Jacques (1990), 152, interprets the motivation for this regulation to be the protection of the factories owned by the colony. *Amphorae* stamped with the names of North African municipalities are well attested, especially for the late second and early third centuries, and may indicate such municipal workshops: see Bonifay (2004), 11–19.
203. De Ligt (1993a), 199–224. De Ligt argues persuasively that the main motives of the towns were to collect market taxes and to keep the price of food down rather than to protect urban artisan industries. See also Delmaire (1989), 276–82. Wilson (2002), however, suggests that a desire to promote the employment of the urban *plebs* may also have been involved.

3. A LATE ANTIQUE CONSUMER REVOLUTION?

1. The data is from Greene (1986), 308–26, with the revised pottery datings of Lund (1995). The exact numbers are seven sites with at least one datable sherd for 150–200 C.E., eighteen for 200–250, two for 250–300, eleven for 300–350, twentyone for 350–400, eighteen for 400–450, sixteen for 450–500, forty-four for 500–550, twentysix for 550–600, and eight for 600–650. I have distributed the pottery evenly over the range of periods in which it was in use: i.e., if a form was in use from 100 to 250 C.E., it was marked as one-third sherd for each of these 50-year periods. A site is considered “occupied” if the fractions add up to one sherd or more: see Lund (1995), 452, for this method. If the Carthage data is analyzed by 100-year instead of 50-year periods, the numbers are twelve sites in the second century C.E., thirty-five in the third, thirty-five in the fourth, forty in the fifth, sixty-two in the sixth, and seventeen in the seventh.
2. See Dietz (1995), 780–88, for the Roman and Byzantine period; Briese and Lund (2000) for the Punic period. The preliminary reports of the Segermes project were, by the team’s own admission, “premature” in identifying the third and fourth centuries (instead of the late fourth to early sixth) as the peak of settlement density: see Lund (1995), 456. This incorrect chronology was followed by Mattingly and Hitchner (1995); Whittaker and Garnsey (1998), 285; and Lepelley (1992), 55.
3. Antit, Broise, and Thébert (1983); Thébert (1983), 104.
4. De Vos (2000). New analysis of the pottery, however, suggests that this first report may

have underestimated the Vandal-Byzantine period. Silvia Polla (2001–2002), 10, found that 80 percent of her sample of ninety sites from the Thugga Survey had pottery dating to the Vandal-Byzantine period, as opposed to 35 percent with late imperial (300–430/50) ceramic, and 20 percent with early and high imperial (0–300 C.E.) ceramic. She is taking into account the coarsewares.

5. Neuru (1990); Hitchner (1988), (1989), (1990), (1992–1993). Wanner (2006), 187, gives the numbers as sixteen for the first century C.E., thirty-six for the second century, forty-five for the third century, forty-seven for the fourth century, forty-six for the fifth century, thirty for the sixth century, ten for the seventh century, and twelve Islamic.

6. Hitchner (1982), 83–100.

7. Fentress, Ait-Kaci, and Bounssair (1993), 109–10.

8. Berthier (2000), 331. Berthier is speaking specifically of the areas north of the Aurès, the regions of Diana Veteranorum and Lambiridi, and the small villages bordering the chotts. Morizot (1997), esp. 265, similarly found a preponderance of fourth- and fifth-century fineware and fourth-century bronze coins in his site visits in the Aurès Mountains themselves.

9. Rebuffat (1986). Only about twenty of the sites predated 50 B.C.E. Two hundred fifty sites were interpreted to be agricultural establishments.

10. Leveau (1984), 457. The overall amount of pottery dropped even more sharply than the number of sites: Lund (1995), 596, chart 8.

11. Leveau (1984), 463–64 and 484–85.

12. Anselmino et al. (1989) for Nador, reviewed by Mattingly and Hayes (1992). Built on top of a smaller farm of the high empire, the late Roman farm with its fortified facade had finewares mainly datable to the late fourth through early sixth century. Its main building was subdivided during the Vandal period into multiple living quarters, suggesting occupation by a group of tenants rather than the landlord.

13. Fentress et al. (2004), 153, [fig. 11.12](#), showing eighty sites for 200–30 B.C.E., eighty-nine sites for 30 B.C.E.–100 C.E., seventy-seven sites for 100–300 C.E., sixty sites for 300–500 C.E., and forty sites for 500–700 C.E. (these figures include the uncertain sites). [Fig. 11.11](#) shows the ARS, which peaks between 350 and 520 C.E.

14. Felici and Pentiricci (2002), 1877 n. 3 and 1885. There were only two sites datable to the sixth century. Sixth-century settlement at Jerba was considerably stronger: Fentress et al. (2004), 159.

15. Reddé (1988), 79–80. Reddé does note that roughly 20 percent of the ceramic found was “Tripolitanian Red Slip Ware,” but does not report on the sites where he found it. For the production of Tripolitanian Red Slip, see now Felici and Pentiricci (2002), who have identified a TRS kiln site.

16. Mattingly and Flower (1996), 174: “The calculations were based on the following sample sizes: Early Romano-Libyan 260 sites, Mid Romano-Libyan 279, Late Romano-Libyan 193, and Islamic 141.” The dating for all but the Islamic sites was based on “securely dated pottery.” The explanation for the chronology is given in Mattingly and Flower, 159–60: “1. Early Romano-Libyan (later 1st and 2nd centuries AD); 2. Mid Romano-Libyan (3rd and 4th centuries AD); 3. Late Romano-Libyan (5th century AD onwards, overlapping with Period 4); 4. Late Antique (6th and 7th centuries AD); 5. Islamic (mid-7th century AD onwards).”

17. Dore (1996).

18. The beginning date of Tripolitanian Red Slip is unclear but probably lies in the late third or early fourth century: see Dore (1996), 353–54; Felici and Pentiricci (2002), 898. In Mauretania Caesariensis, coarsewares modeled on ARS appear to have partially supplanted fineware but were not taken into account by the survey: see Manacorda, in Anselmino et al. (1989), 156–68, for coarsewares at Nador, which are almost entirely found in the late Roman or unstratified contexts ([Tabella 11](#), pp. 164–65); Leveau (1984), 461–63, for coarsewares in the Caesarea Survey, some of which mimic late ARS forms.

19. Leveau (1984), 463; Mattingly and Flower (1996), 181; Dietz (1995), 799. This demographic interpretation of survey data has caused explanations of “settlement growth” in late antiquity to focus on imperial policies that may have encouraged the colonization of previously uncultivated land: see, for example, Hirschfeld (2005) and Kosso (2003).

20. Hansen (1995) for site B 11–5. Cf. K 15–2, near the village K 15–1; E 10–1 near Ksar Soudane; and G 10–1.

21. Hitchner (1982), 83–100. The other “new” sites were two villages, two villas, and one ironworks.

22. Hitchner (1988), 39.

23. See Mattingly and Hitchner (1995) for the small farms in the intensive survey of Sector 1.

24. Hitchner (1988), 28; (1992/1993), 169–70, for KS 029, KS 030, and KS 080.

25. Berthier (2000), 351.

26. See Ben Hassen and Maurin (1998), 187, for the small fortified village of Haggaf with a peak of fineware in the late Punic period and then again in the fifth century C.E.; Ben Hassen and Maurin, 219, for a “bourgade rurale” on the defensible plateau of Sidi Ali Sedfini with a peak of fineware in the fifth and sixth centuries, primarily from the kilns of Uthina.

27. Data from Hansen, “Architectural studies,” in Dietz, Sebai, and Habib (1995); and from the “first-use diagram” in Dietz, “A summary of the field project,” in Dietz, Sebai, and Habib, 777.

28. The *gsur* had initially been considered small forts inhabited by soldier-farmers (*limitatief*), who were responsible for bringing marginal areas of Tripolitania into cultivation: Goodchild (1950). This theory has been discredited, largely because it is now clear that unfortified open farms predated the *gsur* and were owned by a nonmilitary Libyan elite: see Mattingly (1994), 202–9; (1996), 326–31; and Elmayer (1985) for the inscriptions. The *gsur* were sometimes built directly on top of the previous *opus africanum* farms. Mattingly (1996), 329, discusses an inscription at a *gasr* referring to the new structure as “above the building of his ancestors.”

29. Mattingly (1996), 329.

30. Scott, Dore, and Mattingly (1996), 234–47, for the Wadi Mansur; 131–49, for Umm el-Kharab; 255–69, for N’f’d; 273–78, for Scetaf; 62–67, for Buzra; and 208–25, for Mimoun. Note that for the Wadis Mansur, Buzra, and Mimoun, I have excluded those areas for which ceramic was not collected.

31. Mattingly and Flower (1996), 166–67.

32. ARS C begins in central Tunisia around 220–30 C.E., and ARS C/E in southern Tunisia around 225 C.E.: P. Reynolds (1993), 7; Fentress and Perkins (1988). For Numidian ARS, see Fentress (1990), 123; Tortorella (1985), 140–42; for Tripolitanian Red Slip, see Dore (1996), 353–54; Felici and Pentiricci (2002), 898.

33. See Bonifay (2004), 50–57, for a recent overview of the kiln sites, the majority of which were rural.

34. Lund (1995), 464–66, noting that the most common late Roman ARS forms in the Segermes Survey (ARS 182, 61A, 61B, and the omnipresent 88) were all produced at Pheradi Maius. See also Wickham (2005b), 388–89 and 721.

35. Hansen (1995), 201.

36. Fentress, Ait-Kaci, and Bounssair (1993), 111.

37. See Berthier (2000), 331, for the ARS; 357, for the lamps; 333–38, for the extensive coarseware industry.

38. Peacock, Bejaoui, and Ben Lazreg (1990), (1989). See also Mackensen and Schneider (2002), 130–34; Bonifay (2004), 50–51.

39. Peacock, Bejaoui, and Ben Lazreg (1990); Mackensen (1998). Late North African

finewares such as ARS E (from central and south Tunisia), TRS, Numidian ARS, and very local wares like “Dougga Ware” had mainly regional or local markets: for Dougga Ware, see Fentress et al. (2004), 155–57; De Vos and Polla (2005).

40. Peacock, Bejaoui, and Ben Lazreg (1990), 74, for Ksar el Guellal’s forms; Neuru (1990), 256, for the popularity of ARS 58B and 68 in the Cillium Survey and their similarities to coastal forms. Other central Tunisian workshops that produced *sigillata* for only a local market include Sidi Saad, Chougafiya, Madje, Henchir Bloul, Henchir Tebraria, and Henchir el-Kouky: see Mackensen and Schneider (2002), 131; Bonifay (2004), 50–51.

41. For Sidi Marzouk, see Peacock, Bejaoui, and Ben Lazreg (1990), 66–74; Mackensen and Schneider (2002), 131–34. Variants of Hayes 10, 76, and 91 were all found at Henchir el Guellal and Djilma as well, but Hayes 59, 77, and 87 (common in the Cillium Survey) were not produced at Sidi Marzouk. The settlement and pottery debris extended over some 40 ha and included a large bath complex. For this site’s probable status as a “vicus circa villam,” see Mackensen and Schneider (2002), 131.

42. Peacock, Bejaoui, and Ben Lazreg (1990), 70; Mackensen (1998), 26–27; Tortorella (2004), 41.

43. See Mackensen (1993) and (1998).

44. For the possible connection between the export-oriented pottery factories and the workshops for only a local market, see Ben Moussa (2007), 70, and Kehoe (2007a), 563, who proposes the master artisans at the more prestigious workshops might supplement their income by training apprentices who would later set up shop on their own.

45. Millet (1990), 167–68; Fulford (1989a), 195; Evans (2000).

46. Esmonde Cleary (1989), 104 ff.; Millet (1990), 167–68; Fulford (1989a), 194.

47. Kilns at rural as well as urban sites were producing Egyptian fineware by the fifth century: see the survey of kilns in Ballet et al. (1991) and the discussion in Wickham (2005b), 760–61. The industrial villa called the Third Mile Estate near Ashkelon in Palestine produced the widely traded Ashkelon jars: Hirschfeld (1997), 46. The only kilns identified so far for “official” Phocaeen Red Slip were urban, but there were many local imitations: Empereur and Picon (1986); Vaag (2005). Regional finewares in Anatolia such as Sagalassos Red Slip, which had during the Principate been a primarily urban industry, began to have rural competition in the fourth and fifth centuries: Waelkens and Poblome (1997), 60–61 and 84; Harrison and Young (2001), 63 and 73–74. The kiln locations for Cypriot Red Slip have yet to be identified: Rowe (2006). Hayes (2001) gives a general overview of these late antique finewares of the eastern Mediterranean.

48. Anselmino et al. (1989), 193–201.

49. De Vos (2000), 36.

50. Hitchner (1982), 83–94 (catalogue), Sites 11, 16, 19, 43, 46, 53, 55, 56, 60, and 63, and dating on p. 100.

51. Hitchner (1982), 65.

52. See Edmondson (1989) for Spain; Leroy (2001), Polfer (2000), and Demarolle et al. (2003), 113–15, for Gaul; Fulford (1989a), 198, for Britain; McCormick (2002), 58, in general. The trend in Gaul, which resembles what was found in the Sufetula region, was for the smelting of the raw iron and the manufacture of objects to take place at the same, small-scale rural workshops. In the earlier empire, the raw iron appears to have been produced at large workshops and then distributed to small-scale smiths (both urban and rural): see Polfer (2005), 101, with references. I don’t know of comparable studies of mining in the eastern Mediterranean, but it is suggestive that mining and metalworking took place at the small village of Bir an-Sobah in late Roman Palestine: Hirschfeld (1997), 40.

53. Cordsen, Holten, and Nielsen (1995).

54. Brogan and Smith (1984).

55. See Anselmino et al. (1989), 147–48, for the early glass fragments (no. 70 and unnumbered) found in strata IB-C and nos. 71 and 72 (two fragments of each) from the destruction levels.

56. See Anselmino et al. (1989), 148–50, for seventy-four fragments of form nos. 75–76, in addition to fourteen fragments of no. 77, which is thought to have been its base.

57. Dietz (1995), 793.

58. While the primary production of raw glass in late antiquity was concentrated in the eastern Mediterranean (with some exceptions, such as Hambach Forest in Gaul), the secondary production that turned raw glass into individual vessels appears to have become more localized in the fourth and fifth centuries C.E.: see Foster and Jackson (2009), 195; Aerts et al. (2003).

59. Hingley's (1989) study of rural dwellings in Roman Britain, Hirschfeld (1995) for Palestine, and Eichner (2009) for late antique Cilicia are important exceptions.

60. Arnob. *Nat.* 2.66, ed. C. Marchesi, p. 144.

61. For example, the Vandal-period North African bishop, Ps.-Fulg. *Rusp. S.* 1 (“in natali Christi”), *PL* 65: 858, figuratively interprets the birth of Isaac in a *casa*: “Isaac gaudet sub Bethlehemita casa, velut sub centenaria spica.”

62. Aug. *Epist.* 65.1 for the “domus” of a “certain woman of ill repute on the *fundus* Gippitanus”; *Epist.* 23.5 for the *domus* of the residents of the *villa* Mutugennensis; and *Haer.* 87 for the *domus* of the Punic-speaking inhabitants of a *villa* near Hippo. For the *domus* of the rural clergy, see Aug. *Epist.* 105.2 (on the estate Victorianensis) and *Epist.* 251, ed. A. Goldbacher, p. 599 (on the estate Germanicianensis). In some of these cases, Augustine may be using *domus* in the sense of “household” rather than “house.”

63. Vict. Vit. 3.58; *Passio Maximae, Secundae et Donatillae* 4, ed. Maier (1987–89) 1: 113. Although there is no suggestion that she is the daughter of the landlord of this estate (which was probably in fact imperial), the text does say that she had rejected many offers of marriage, suggesting that she may have come from a family with some property.

64. *Tab. Albertini* 15, 29a, ed. Courtois, p. 267.

65. See Sarnowski (1978), fig. 10, for the mosaic of Thina, where red *tesserae* represented tiles in a mostly black-and-white mosaic; fig. 6, for the villa of Tabarca. Sarnowski notes: “L’effort fait par les mosaïstes pour reproduire le matériau utilisé pour la toiture est remarquable” (74).

66. Isid. *Orig.* 15.12: “agreste habitaculum palis atque virgultis arundinibus contextum.”

67. Cassiod. *In psalm.* 14.1. Late Roman representations of huts from Italy also suggest that roof tiles were becoming more common. The Vatican Vergil, dated ca. 400 C.E., illustrates the old farmer from Corcyus (Verg. *Georg.* 4.125–46) in front of a rectangular, whitewashed farmhouse with a tiled roof: Wright (1993), folio 7v.

68. Aug. *Epist.* 20*.30.

69. Aug. *Epist.* 13*.2.

70. *Passio Maximae, Secundae et Donatillae* 4, ed. Maier (1987–89) 1: 113.

71. Most of the courtyard farms of the Segermes Survey continued to have pottery through the late sixth century, including D 10–1, K 16–1, H 17 (no. 1), D 12–4, C 13–1, S 10–2, R 11–1, and E 15–1. R 12–1 has pottery through mid-fifth century. The identification of these as courtyard farms is based on the plans published in Hansen (1995), and the dating is based on the diagrams in Dietz (1995). In the Cillium Survey, the courtyard farms have evidence of occupation through the seventh century C.E.: KS 002 (Hitchner [1992/1993], 165), KS 060 (Hitchner, 176); KS 040, KS 041, and KS 046 (Hitchner [1988]). For the Belezma Survey in Numidia, the only farm with a published plan was a courtyard farm: Fentress (2001), 259, fig. 5. Its pottery dated to the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. For the decline of such “open” farms by the fourth century in the Libyan Valleys Survey, see Barker and Mattingly (1996) 1: 150–

55; for Mauretania Caesariensis, Leveau (1984), 463–64 and 484–85.

72. See Hitchner (1992/1993), 170–73, for the villages KS 081 and 082 in Sector 3; Barker and Mattingly (1996) 1: 140–41 and fig. 5.30, for the *gsur* associated settlements. See also Modéran (2003b), 504 ff.

73. Leveau (1984), 317 and 342: the small farm no. 173 (100 m²), and a scatter of coarseware and *tegulae* at no. 136.

74. Hansen (1995), 356, gives the total number, but not the list of sites, which must be gleaned from the catalogue. The villas with roof tiles are E 13–1 / E 13–2, D 12–1, D 14–1, and H 14–2; and the large *opus africanum* farms with roof tiles or tiles are C 12–3, C 16–1, C 17–1, D 10–1, D 10–2, F 13–1, H 17–1, 18–1, K 16–1, L 9–1, L 15–1, M 15–2, N 15–1, O 7–2, O 12–1, P 6–1, and T 8–1. The small farms with tiles are B 18–1 (not datable), F 16–2 (with finewares dated 350–600 C.E.), H 13–1 (with threshold, quern, and finewares from 400–450 C.E.), K 16–2 (not datable), and M 15–1 (with finewares from 500–550 C.E.).

75. Hansen (1995), catalogue, 334.

76. For a very similar late Roman farmhouse at Ramat Hanadiv in Palestine, see Hirschfeld (1997), 53 and fig. 44.

77. See Hansen (1995), catalogue, for Q 9–1, G 18–2 (Ahmed Rouigued), K 14–2 (in association with a larger, L-shaped building), and L 7–1. Some of them may be post-Roman.

78. No. 5 at G 18–2 has a particularly clear plan (although it may be post-Roman): see Hansen (1995), catalogue, for G 18–2 (Ahmed Rouigued). This was a two-room building of 3.5 m by 16.1 m (34.3 m²). The rooms had no door connecting them; they were both entered from the outside. No roof tiles or other signs of decoration were found near the house.

79. For example, the wings of the courtyard farm H 17–1 measured 3.65 by 27.8 m (no. 1), 4.0 by 16 m (no. 4), 3.0 by 20 m (no. 5), and 3.7 by 21 m (no. 6).

80. At L 7–1 (a probable estate on a slope near Oued bou Selim), five such narrow rectangular buildings, ranging from 28 to 38 m² in area, were grouped around a larger olive-press building (105 m²): Hansen (1995), 289. This olive-press building, with its mortared walls, mosaic *tesserae*, and *opus signinum* floor, was very likely the main farm. Roof tiles were found throughout the site. The pottery dates from the fourth century. Given the fairly uniform appearance of the buildings, it is possible that the landlord built them for his or her farmworkers. For a similar association of quarters for farm laborers near a higher-status “villa” in late antiquity, see Yntema (1993), 220–22 (Brindisi).

81. Hansen (1995), 361–63: “One of the significant surprises in our research was the occurrence of the rural isolated bathhouse.”

82. B 15–3; B 16–1; D 12–1; D 14–1; E 13–2; H 14–2; L 14–2; S 10–2.

83. Ahmed Rouigued (bath G 18–13), O 14–1, K 15–1, and Q 12–1 (bath Q 12–2).

84. Hitchner (1982), 83–94 (catalogue of the Sufetula Survey), Site 4: a fort with bathhouse, no dating; Site 17: a Christian basilica with bathhouse, dated to the sixth and seventh centuries; Site 51: a villa with bathhouse and pottery dating to 350–425 C.E. Rural bathhouses were found by the Cillium Survey at KS 223—a utilitarian *opus africanum* farm with four olive presses, a small absidal bath, and pottery dating from the third to fifth century C.E. (Hitchner [1988]); and at KS 022 (Henchir el Guellali)—a large (8.8 ha) villa with associated village and a bathhouse dated to the late fourth / early fifth century by a mosaic (Hitchner [1988]). Only the bathhouse at the “agrovilla” KS 031 (Ksar el Guellal) may have been imperial.

85. Frend (1984), 263.

86. See Thébert (2003), 143, for the baths at Kerkouane (village, end of the third or fourth c. C.E.); 149, for Sidi Ghrib (villa, late fourth to early fifth c.); 205–6, for Henchir Safia (village? fourth c.); 218–20, for the Baths of Pompeianus at Oued Athmenia (villa, end of fourth to early fifth c.); 260–61, for Jorf El Hamra (farm, first to third c.); 487, for Aquae Calidae (estate—“in his praediis,” 198–209 C.E.); 489, for El Haouria (villa? first half of

fourth c.); 489–90 (also Busch 1999, 233–34), for the *fundus* Bassianus (villa, fourth c.); 492, for Moknine (estate, mid-fifth c.); 493, for Sidi Bou Ali (villa, third to sixth c.); 504, for the *castellum* Mastarense (228–30 C.E.); 504, for the *castellum* Tingitana (mid-fourth c.?); 500 (also Busch 1999, 219–25), for Aïn Bessem (estate in the environs of Auzia, fourth c. or later).

87. Such villa bath-houses include Sidi Ghrib, Oued Athmenia, Moknine, the *fundus* Bassianus, and Sidi Bou Ali. For the trend toward private bathhouses, see Thébert (2003), 420; (1987).

88. Courtois (1954), 196 ff.; Thébert (2003), 143–44, for Kerkouane. This bathhouse was only 150 m² (in comparison to the 670 m² of Sidi Ghrib). Other modest rural bathhouses from the late Roman period include a bath of 150 m² at Henchir Safia (at a village on the border of Tunisia and Algeria in the region where the Albertini Tablets were found): Thébert 205–6; and a bathhouse at the kiln factory at Henchir Krechrem, which was decorated with a simple black-and-white mosaic: Peacock, Bejaoui, and Ben Lazreg (1989), 183–84.

89. Rathbone (1991), 196.

90. This is clearly the case in *Anth. lat.* 109 [R. 120], where the “praesul” of a *fundus* hopes that the weary traveler will be refreshed by the sweet waters of the bath: Busch (1999), 230–33 and 332–34. The verse dedications of baths on estates in the environs of Aïn Bessem (Auzia, Maur. Caes.) and Equizetum (Maur. Sit.) may also have been aimed at travelers; for Auzia: *AE* (1987), 31 / Busch (1999), 219–25; for Equizetum: *AE* (1933), 49 / Thébert (2003), 506.

91. John Chrysostom, *In Act. apost., Hom.* 18.4, ed. Montfaucon, 157: “Many build marketplaces and baths, but churches none.” He goes on to say that the baths make the peasants effeminate, which strongly implies that the landlords intended them for the use of the peasants. This important passage is discussed by Banaji (2002), 85; De Ligt (1993a), 177; Patlagean (1977), 286; and Krause (1987), 181 n. 139. For a sixth-century bathhouse built for “all the tillers of the land” in the Apamene (Syria), see Sarris (2006), 125.

92. Shenoute, *Adversus Saturnum II*, ed. H. Wiesmann, *Sinuthii archimandritae Vita et opera omnia*, vol. 3, *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, *Scriptores coptici*, ser. 2, t. 4 (Paris, 1931), 47. In this dialogue, the landlord Saturnus demands a grain levy from each peasant house “on the occasion of bathing in the baths,” even though they say that they don’t wish to bathe, they only care about the bread they eat, and most of them are not accustomed to the baths. The implication is that Kronos was justifying the levy by virtually forcing the peasants to bathe. Shenoute goes on to say that the peasants had been made to build the baths themselves. The reference is from Trombley (1994), 217.

93. For example, the small bath at a utilitarian olive farm (KS 223): Hitchner (1988); and the baths at the pottery kiln sites of Henchir Krechrem and Sidi Marzouk Tounsi: Peacock, Bejaoui, and Ben Lazreg (1989), 183–84; Mackensen and Schneider (2002), 131.

94. *Anth. lat.* 168, 169 [R. 178 and R. 179]. Both the *capitula* of the manuscript and the style of the poems have led scholars to attribute them to one author writing close to the time and place of the compilation (early sixth-century Carthage): see Busch (1999), 324; Kay (2006), 1–7.

95. *Anth. lat.* 168 [R. 178]: “Vita opibus tenuis, sed parvo in caespite sollers, / fundavit gemino munere delicias. / nam nova in angusto erexit balnea campo, / edulibusque virens fetibus hortus olet. / quae natura negat, confert industria parvis: / vix sunt divitibus quae bona pauper habet.”

96. *AE* (1933), 49 / Thébert (2003), 506: “In his praediis Cominiorum / Montani et Feliciani iun(iorum) / et Feliciani patris eorum / balneu[m] . . . omnis humanitas **urbico more** praebetur.” The inscription is from the environs of Equizetum. Cf. *ILS* 5720 from outside Rome: “in [h]is praedis Aureliae Faustinae balineus, lavat(ur) more urbico, et omnis humanitas praestatur.”

97. This discussion is confined to the representation of male rustics largely because of the paucity of representations of women engaged in agricultural labor.

98. Uthina (Oudna), Maison des Laberii mosaic: Dunbabin (1978), 112 and pl. 101; Blanchard-Lemée et al. (1996), fig. 125 (late second or early third c. C.E.); Caesarea (Cherchel), Labors of the Field mosaic: Dunbabin, 114 and pls. 102–4 (Severan); Zliten, Scena di pastorizia: Aurigemma (1926), figs. 54–55 (Severan); Utica, Maison des Protomés, hunting scenes: Alexander and Ennaifer (1973–76) 1.1, no. 273; Dunbabin, pl. 100 (second half of third c.); La Chebba, Neptune and the Seasons: Dunbabin, pls. 97–98; Thysdrus (El Djem), Maison des Mois mosaic: Dunbabin, pl. 99; Blanchard-Lemée et al. (1996), fig. 20 (late Severan).

99. Barefoot rustics include the man picking fruit in Utica, Maison des Protomés, hunting scenes; the man milking a goat and the attendant to a hunter in the Uthina, rural scenes; and the ewe milker in Zliten, scena di pastorizia: see note 98 above.

100. Boot-wearing rustics include the men guiding oxen and plow, scattering seed, and working the vineyard in the Caesarea, Labors of the Field mosaic; the attendants to the hunters (as well as the hunters themselves) in the Carthage Boar Hunt mosaic: Dunbabin (1978), pl. 21 (Severan); and the man milling grain on a sarcophagus from Carthage: Wilpert (1929–36), 3: pl. 290.3.

101. The carters on the Boglio stele from Siliana wear *aliculae*: Leglay (1961–66), 1: 227 and pl. 9, fig. 4 (third or early fourth c.).

102. The *cucullus* is worn by the rustic hunter carrying a hare in the Thysdrus, Maison des Mois mosaic: Dunbabin (1978), pl. 99; Blanchard-Lemée et al. (1996), fig. 20; and by a rustic hunter on a North African lamp: Deneauve (1969), no. 479.

103. In the winter scene of the La Chebba mosaic, the man carrying buckets wears a cloak of undyed wool looped below the neck and hanging to knee length: Dunbabin (1978), pls. 97–98. Similar cloaks are worn by the plowman, mule driver, and attendant on the Uthina, Maison des Laberii mosaic, but not by the shepherd, goat milker, or bird catcher: Dunbabin (1978), 112 and pl. 101.

104. In North African mosaics, men carrying amphoras and other objects tend to wear loincloths or the *tunica exomis* (a tunic covering only one shoulder). Personal attendants (who may also have been slaves) tend to wear clothing that mimics the dress of their masters, or in some cases, the fancy dress of a previous generation. For example, in the Slaves Serving Wine mosaic from Thugga (see below, fig. 4), two barefoot slaves (identifiable as such from their necklaces and metal anklets) wear a loincloth and *tunica exomis*, respectively. Next to them stand two long-haired attendants dressed in sandals and ungirded (i.e., tailored) short tunics, decorated with narrow *clavi* down the front and on the wrists. The dress of the masters (the men receiving the drinks) differs from that of the attendants only in the higher quality of the cloth, the wider width of *clavi*, and the shorter length of hair: Dunbabin (1978), pl. 114. In the Fructus mosaic from Uthina, the men pouring from amphoras wear the *tunica exomis*, and the master wears a long tunic decorated with *clavi*: Ben Hassen and Maurin (1998), 73–74 (first half of third c.). In the second-century El Alia mosaic, the man pouring wine from a wineskin is dressed in a *tunica exomis*, while the servant handing the drink directly to the masters seems to be wearing an elegant Egyptian or possibly Punic headdress: Gauckler (1910), pl. 92; Picard (1990).

105. Carthage, Mosaic of Dominus Julius: Dunbabin (1978), pl. 109; Blanchard-Lemée et al. (1996), fig. 121. See Parrish (1979) and Krause (1987), 105 n. 96, for the bibliography on this scene, which is part of a long tradition of peasants bringing gifts to their landlord patrons. Both Parrish and Krause argue, for different reasons, that this winter gift was not actually delivered in person (and, according to Krause, had probably been commuted to coin) by the time of the Julius mosaic.

106. Caesarea (Cherchel), vintage scenes: Dunbabin (1978), pls. D and 107–8 (late fourth / early fifth c.).

107. Dunbabin (1978), 116.

108. As is evident in the central hunting scene of the Julius Dominus mosaic, where the rustic attendant wears a traditional short, undecorated tunic, and the mounted landlord a long, flowing garment (see below, [fig. 3](#)). The hunting scene at Sidi Ghrib is similar, although the attendant's dress is decorated, and the landlord is not mounted: Ennabli (1986), 44–46 and pl. 14 ([tableau 6](#)). Even in the mosaics where the landlords adopt “rustic” short tunics, they are still clearly superior to their attendants in their cloaks and bright colors: Maison de la Chasse at Utica, Alexander and Ennaifer (1973–76), vol. 1, pt. 1, no. 86 (late fourth c.); hunting mosaic from Cuicul, Dunbabin (1978), pl. 19; and the Piazza Armerina hunting mosaic (from Sicily, but North African in style), Gentili (1959), panel IV.

109. It is interesting to compare late medieval English peasants, who with the rise of wages after the Black Death increasingly used blue and green dyes for their clothing instead of leaving them natural “white” or grey. There was also a shift from loose tunics to more closely fitted clothes: Dyer (1989), 176–77.

110. For Britain, see Fulford (1989a), 193–95, 197; Esmonde Cleary (1989), 94 ff.; Millett (1990), 169; Ryan (1988), 153.

111. For the increase of wage labor in late antiquity, see Banaji (2002); Sarris (2006); (2004b), 65 ff. For the archaeological evidence for the increased availability of small change, see Barnish (1987), 170; De Ligt (1990), 40 ff.; Morrisson and Sodini (2002), 217; Depeyrot (1991), 203–6.

112. Two inventories of coins from the finds were made by M. Troussel, summarized in Berthier (2000), 281–85, and Troussel (1948). These coins were stray finds from the excavations of the forum, the North Gate, the castle of water, and the area between the castle of water and the forum.

113. The hoard of 297 bronze coins analyzed by Lailly (1969–1971) contained significant numbers of late fourth- and fifth-century coins: 65 from Theodosius I, 38 from fifth-century Eastern emperors, and 6 from Vandal kings. The hoard probably dates to the early seventh century. Troussel excluded much “petit billon” from his inventory of stray finds (641 excluded out of a total of 863 Roman coins in the first inventory alone) because of their poor state of preservation: Berthier (2000), 281 n. 2. It is probable that a number of these tiny illegible coins were of fifth- or early sixth-century date, given the tiny size (<.5 grams) and fragility of Vandal-period *minimi*. For other bronze hoards from the Cirta area containing a majority of coins of fifth- or sixth-century date, many of them anonymous imitations, see Morrisson (1980), 244–45 (Le Hamma and Bou Lilate hoards).

114. Grinder-Hansen (1995), 633–45. These numbers do not take into account two late antique coin hoards found in the *municipium* itself.

115. Grinder-Hansen (1995), 634. I have included for Sidi Zit the coins found immediately to its south, at Site B 11. Note that the high number of coins from the “villa” K 16 are largely due to the excavations conducted there.

116. See Casey (1986), 80–81, for this approach to coin loss. Others, however, have argued against interpreting stray finds near marketplaces as loss during market transactions: Ryan (1988), 151–52.

117. De Vos (2000), 78–80. It should be noted that in value, the *siliqua* and *solidus* far outweigh all of the other coins, but they probably represent the abandonment of the farm rather than economic prosperity.

118. Wanner (2006), 23–24 (data from Christina Triantafyllou).

119. Curchin, Ennabli, and Neuru (1998).

120. Salamo, in Anselmino et al. (1989), 94. Of the 115 coins published in the final report, only 6 dated to the first or second century C.E.

121. Salamo, in Anselmino et al. (1989), 94 and 98. The “hoards” are dated ca. 520–33. The site was abandoned around the time of the Byzantine conquest.

122. For a peak of coins in the first half of the fourth century at Lepcis Magna, see Garraffo (1978–1979), 104. Cf. Kenrick (1986), 269–70, for Sabratha. At Zilil, 5,012 of 5,855 coins were dated between Diocletian and the early fifth century, the bulk from the mid-fourth century: Depeyrot (1999), 32. Excavations at the Memmian Baths of Bulla Regia (built 220–40 C.E.) produced 43 pre-Roman (mostly Numidian) coins, 4 from the first and second centuries C.E., 5 from the third century, 59 from the fourth, 20 from the late fourth or early fifth, and 6 from the Vandal period: see H. R. Baldus’s catalogue in Broise and Thébert (1993).

123. Morrison (1988), although she has found that by correcting for the higher value of later Byzantine bronze, the annual average value (in *nummi*) of coins found in Carthage actually peaks under Phocas or Constans II.

124. See Banaji (2002), 190–212; also Krause (1987), 226–27; Sarris (2004b); (2006), 91–93, 94, 129, etc. Under Banaji’s definition, however, sharecropping and tenancy (“a wage in land”) are considered forms of wage labor. Chris Wickham and Peter Sarris connect wage labor to the intensification of production on the directly managed portion (*autopragia* or *pars dominica*) of estates: Wickham (2005b), 274–76; Sarris (2006), 31, 39, etc. *Ostraka* from the Vandal and early Byzantine periods attest to the *pars* or *portio dominica* on North African estates: see Bonnal and Février (1966–67) for the Bir Touch *ostraka*; Albertini (1932), 54, for the Négrine *ostrakon* (542 C.E.); 62, for the (unpublished) Djebel Onk *ostraka*.

125. Wickham (2005b), 275; Sarris (2006), 56, 88, and 91–93; (2004b), 65–66.

126. For the Egyptian evidence, see Fikhman (1969), 161–62; Sarris (2006), 58 and 67. The rural artisans were usually employed by a landlord for a fixed amount of time, ranging from a day to in perpetuity.

127. Mostly clearly in the Vandal-period Albertini Tablets, where the peasants were selling their tiny Mancian leaseholds for payment in *folles* (reckoned on a gold standard): see Grierson (1959). Other examples are an *ostrakon* found at a late antique house in the village Henchir Touta (*BAC* [1908], 248), which lists small payments reckoned in sesterces, one from a wool worker (Januarianus Ianarius); and a “pitacium” (fourth century C.E.?) for 3,000 *folles* from Henchir bou Gornine (*BAC* [1915], 193), relating to the sale of wine. The only *ostraka* I have seen that might record wage payments are the Vandal-period Bir Trouch *ostraka* (484–93 C.E., Numidia), which record relatively small payments of barley to a person with the Punic name Massiese from the *partes dominicae* of several estates: “. . . acces(sit) M(ass)i(ese) / in xx boguli parte dominica / ordeï m[ensuras] iiii tres tam / tum” (Bonnal and Février [1966–67], 240). Rural wage laborers (*operarii*), especially in vineyards, are attested by North African patristic authors such as Augustine: Krause (1987), 226–27; Aug. *S.* 56 and 376.

128. For the Mancian sharecropping attested by second-century inscriptions as well as the late fifth-century Albertini Tablets, see Kehoe (1988); Wessel (2003). The only text I know that mentions a lease arrangement comparable to Banaji’s Egyptian evidence is the possibly North African sermon Ps.-Chrys. *De solstitiis et aequinoctiis*, *PLS* 1: 565, which describes peasants’ leases ending every autumn. Cf. Banaji (2002), 199, for the annual leases in Egypt.

129. See Jones (1964) 1: 441–43; Gitler and Weisburd (2005).

130. See De Ligt (1990), 40; Reece (1981); Walker (1988); Crawford (1970), 44–45, *contra* Harl (1996), 84.

131. Reece (1984), 173.

132. See Wickham (2005b), 271, for the *comparatio* and *coemptio* of peasants’ rents and taxes. Notes of credit (*pittakia*) could also change hands without ever being redeemed in actual coin: see Sarris (2006), 66–67.

133. In Egyptian leases of pottery kilns, the lessees, who were usually of very humble status, leased the kilns for a year or two. They received monthly payment in both cash and kind in return for providing a specified number of amphoras: see Poblome and Brulet (2005), 30–31.

134. Among others, Hitchner (2005); Mattingly and Hitchner (1995); Mattingly (1985); Stone (1997).

135. For ARS, see Hayes (1972), 456, map 8; P. Reynolds (1993), 42; Panella (1993), 692. For the amphoras, see P. Reynolds (1993), 51–53 (52.7 percent at the Temple of the Magna Mater, Rome); Panella and Sagui (2001), 767 (50/60 percent for early fifth-century Rome).

136. See P. Reynolds (1993), esp. 112–14, for the increase in Tunisian exports to Spain during the Vandal period. For the increase in exports to the eastern Mediterranean, see Panella (1986), esp. 453–54. In contexts in Rome from the second half of the fifth century, the proportion of North African amphoras declines to 30/40 percent (from 50/60 percent) and to only 30 percent by 520 C.E.: Panella and Sagui (2001), 778–79 and 786.

137. Kehoe (2007a), 560.

138. See Keay (1984), esp. 416–17, for North African amphoras representing production for the state, not trade, except in the Vandal period (Keay, 420).

139. Panella (1986), 443.

140. Ørsted (2000), esp. 144–47.

141. Scheidel (2007), 55. See also Bang (2007); Scheidel (2009); Kehoe (2007b).

142. P. Reynolds (1993), 12; Schuring (1988), 21; Fentress and Perkins (1988).

143. P. Reynolds (1993), 7; Dore (1996), 321–23.

144. For the cessation of regional pottery production by the beginning of the sixth century and the renewed dominance of ARS D from northern Tunisia, see Neuru (1990); Panella (1986), 452.

145. Yang (1998), 267.

146. De Ligt (1990), 41, makes this argument for Roman Britain. For the connection between an increased stock of low-value coinage in circulation and “monetisation” during the third century, see Rathbone (1996); Prodromidis (2006), esp. 21–22.

147. See Mostecky (1997), 69–73 and 515, for the imitations of Valentinian III’s *nummi* in the early Vandal period; for Vandal-period bronze hoards with large components of anonymous or imitation coins, see Deloum (1986); Morrisson (1980), esp. 244–45; (2003), 80–81; see Turcan (1961), 218, for a Justinianic hoard with earlier coins cut to be equivalent in size to the tiny fifth- and sixth-century *minimi*.

148. Reece (1984), Morrisson (1988), and Patlagean (1977), 413–14, discuss the cessation of the minting of *minimi* in the Byzantine period, despite continued local demand. Both Patlagean (1977), 410 and 413, and Sarris (2006), 224–27, interpret the choice to privilege larger bronze coins (and, by the second half of the sixth century, raise the price of bronze) as a victory of the landlords and urban middle classes over the poor.

149. For rural workshops, see above, notes 45, 47, 52, and 58, as well as Hirschfeld (2005) and (1997), 40, 46, 48 n. 54, and 61 for Palestine. For the connection of such production to self-sufficiency, see Rostovtzeff (1957), 139, 170, etc.; Finley (1999), 161; Ferdière (1999), 14; Jones (1963), 762; S. Alcock (1993), 102–5; Patlagean (1977), 268; Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens (2003), 290. Egypt, however, seems to have followed a different trajectory, possibly because of its later municipalization. According to Roger Bagnall, in Egypt, rural (esp. village) workshops are better attested for the early empire than for the late and were disappearing by the fourth century as urban artisan production expanded: Bagnall (2005), *contra* Alston (2001). Cf. Bogaert (1997), 86, for the concurrent disappearance of rural banking in fourth-century Egypt. Municipalization took place in Egypt only in the third and fourth centuries: Sarris (2006), 178–79. For the sixth century, however, artisan production on Egyptian estates and in Egyptian villages is well attested: see examples in Fikhman (1969); Bagnall (2005), 562; Sarris (2006), 58 and 98.

150. For example, the major ARS workshops at the villas Sidi Marzouk in central Tunisia and El Mahrine in northern Tunisia: Peacock, Bejaoui, and Ben Lazreg (1990), 70; Mackensen (1998), 26–27; (1993). The phenomenon of export-oriented, rural workshops (although perhaps not so clearly associated with villas) is also attested in late Roman Europe: see Polfer (2005), 61 ff., 99–100, and 102, for the widely traded decorated *sigillata* of Argone.

151. For the greater integration of rural and urban markets in late antique North Africa, see the examples in Stone, Stirling, and Ben Lazreg (1998), 307; Bonifay (2004), 49.

152. Kehoe (2007a), 562–66; Cockle (1981).

153. See Fülle (1997) for the production sites of Arretine fineware in Italy and southern Gaul. Kehoe (2007a), 562–66, argues that this is a characteristic of Roman artisan industries in general.

154. See Fülle (1997) for the role of master artisans (who, as attested by pottery stamps or papyri, were sometimes themselves slaves or *coloni*); Erdkamp (1999) for the importance of rural labor during slack seasons for artisan production. Examples of free “rural entrepreneurs” from North Africa include the “harvester from Mactar”—a small farmer who made his fortune as the leader of a harvest gang in Numidia—and a farmer from the village Biha Bilta (Proconsularis) who boasted of installing a water-collection device, vineyard, and olive trees on the *fundus* he had leased: *ILS* 7457 and *AE* (1974), 883, respectively.

155. Kehoe (2007a), 563.

156. For the impact of cottage industries (sometimes termed “protoindustrialization”) on artisan production in early modern Europe, see Mendels (1972). This I find to be a more convincing model for what was happening in North Africa than Christopher Wickham’s suggestion ([2005b], 721) that the local fineware workshops represent a lack of articulation in

the North African internal economy, or the proposal of Fentress et al. (2004) and Hitchner (2005) that the North African fineware workshops constitute import substitution.

157. Sarris (2004b).

158. Bang (2007); Scheidel (2007), (2010).

159. This “tax and trade” model of Keith Hopkins (1980) has recently been revived by Bang (2007) and (2008). Although Hopkins had originally excluded late antiquity from the model because of the shift from money to in-kind taxation under Diocletian, Bang and Banaji have rightly noted that money taxes remained important in late antiquity, particularly from the second half of the fourth century: Bang (2007), 21; Banaji (2002), 53–60.

160. See Goffart (1974), esp. 34 and 47, for Diocletian’s reforms (known from an edict of the prefect of Egypt). The motive cited in the edict was that the emperors had learned that the public taxes were not being levied equally.

161. See Goffart (1974), 9, 10, and 27, for early imperial methods of paying tribute, and chap. 4 for the shift in the course of the fourth century to a land tax.

162. Goffart (1974), 10, 27, 102, and 112.

163. *CTH* 11.22.4 (409 C.E.), regarding North African landlords claiming *autopragia* without having been granted it; Sarris (2006), 151–51; Goffart (1974), 15 and 108.

164. Lepelley (1979) 1: 67–72; Jones (1964) 1: 732–33; Liebeschuetz (2001), 175–78; Chastagnol (1986); Lewin (2001); Delmaire (1989), 645–57.

165. Liebeschuetz (2001), 175–78. It seems, however, that the management of some of the civic lands was returned to the cities in the 370s.

166. See Lepelley (1979) and Leone (2007), chap. 1, for the high level of urban construction in North Africa through the late fourth century. For continued urban artisan production in fourth-century North African cities, see Wilson (2001c) and (2002).

167. For the concentration of land at the expense of ordinary decurions in the eastern Mediterranean, mainly Egypt, see Banaji (2002), 101–33; Sarris (2004a); (2006), 178 ff.; Rowlandson (1996), 278 ff. Based on papyrus records, Banaji argues that the gymnasial class (the equivalent of Western *decuriones*) declined from constituting 44.5 percent of all landholders in the fourth century to only 14 percent in the fifth: Banaji (2002), 115. A new aristocracy of imperial bureaucrats and military men supplanted it.

168. The landlords in Augustine’s letters include the *illustrius* former proconsul Pammachius: *Aug. Epist.* 58; the *vir spectabilis* Celer: *Epist.* 56–57, 139, and 209; the *spectabilis* Orontius, a resident of Carthage, who had a *fundus* in the Hippo area: *Epist.* 222; a *clarissima femina* who owned the *fundus* Thogonoetensis near the *castellum* Fussala but lived in a distant city: *Epist.* 20*; the *clarissimus* ex-proconsul Donatus who had property in the territory of Hippo and near the *castellum* Sinitensis: *Epist.* 112; the *clarissimus* ex-proconsul Flaccianus: *Aug. Acad.* 1.6 and *Civ.* 18.23; and the *clarissima femina* Petronia, a resident of Carthage, who had an estate near the Bagradas River in the territory of Uzalis: *Civ.* 22.8. In contrast to these, we hear of only a few estates that might have belonged to decurions of Hippo. These include a man named Festus: *Epist.* 89 (see Lepelley [1984], 275, for his possible decurion status); Gaius Seius, who donated a *fundus* to the church of Hippo: *In evang. Ioh.* 6.25; and a deacon of Hippo, Eraclius, who owned a villa: *S.* 356. Augustine also speaks of military men who owned rural estates, including the *vir tribunicus* Eleusinus: *Sermo* 356.15; another *vir tribunicus* Hesperius, who owned the *fundus* Zubedi near the *castellum* Fussala; and a *hastarius* who owned a small estate near the bishopric Cathaquensis: *Epist.* 96.

169. Krause (1987), 265 and 297; Wickham (2005b), 162–63; Sarris (2004a).

170. Lepelley (1984) suggests that many North African decurions in the fourth and early fifth centuries would have been *possessores* of imperial land, which by the early fifth century C.E. amounted to between one seventh and one sixth of Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena: *CTH* 11.28.13 (422 C.E.), discussed by Whittaker and Garnsey (1998), 301–2; Jones (1964) 2:

816. Some may have even acted as *conductores* until the practice was forbidden in 439: see Jones (1964), 791. The *conductor* of the *fundus* Aufidianus in northern Tunisia was termed an “agricola” of the *res publica* Biha Bilita, perhaps the equivalent of a decurion for this submunicipal community of the late third century C.E.: see Peyras (1975).

171. See Krause (1987), 104–7, 117–18, 124, and *passim*, for how the greater distance of a landlord may have made his relations with his *coloni* more impersonal. One of the more visible signs of this was the transformation of the traditional gifts (*xenia*) of game, etc., brought by rustic clients to their landlord patrons to an impersonal category of rent: see Krause (1987), 105.

172. Pliny *Epist.* 5.4 and 5.13 for the town (Italian Vicetia) disputing the establishment of a rural market by the senator L. Bellicius Sollers; discussed by De Ligt (1993b); (1993a), 202–5. See De Ligt (1993a), 157–58, for landlords petitioning during the second and third centuries C.E. for permission to set up rural markets; Sarris (2004a) and (2004b) for the role of landlords in setting up workshops in late antiquity.

173. Gerontius, *Vita sanctae Melaniae senatricis Romae* 21.4, ed. P. Laurence, *Gérontius, La vie latine de sainte Mélanie* (Jerusalem, 2002): “Quae possessio maior erat etiam civitatis ipsius, habens balneum, artifices multos (aurifices, argentarios et aerarios), et duos episcopos, unum nostrae fidei et alium haereticorum”; discussed by Jones (1964) 2: 787. The passage does not appear in the Greek recension of the *Vita*.

174. John Chrysostom, *In Act. apost.*, *Hom.* 18.5, ed. Montfaucon, 158.

175. *Tab. Albertini* 31 records the sale of an olive press to a *colonus*; *Anth. Lat.* 168 and 169 [R. 178 and R. 179] describes a “pauper” building a bathhouse, as discussed above; *Aug. Cur. mort.* 12.15, ed. J. Zycha, pp. 645 ff., mentions a smith on a *fundus*, who appears to have been a man of some local significance. For Egyptian evidence (mostly third or sixth century) for independent rural artisans, see Fikhman (1969); Cockle (1981) (leasing of pottery kilns); Poblome and Brulet (2005), 30–31; Rathbone (1991), 196 (leasing of bathhouse); De Ligt (1993a), 166–67 and 197 n. 45.

176. Bonifay (2004), 75; Bonifay, Capelli, and Polla (2005). It is interesting that Calcutic ware is the first widely distributed handmade pottery from North Africa since the late Punic period, suggesting a revival of the conditions that promoted this sort of production.

177. Possid. *Vita* 22.2.5: “Cochlearibus tantum argenteis utens, ceterum vasa quibus mensae inferebantur cibi vel testea vel lignea vel marmorea fuerunt, non tamen necessitatis inopia, sed proposito voluntatis.”

178. *Aug. In psalm.* 64.8.

179. In addition to the examples below, see Shenoute, *Adversus Saturnum* II, ed. Wiesmann, 47; and *Apophthegmata patrum*, *Rho* 1 for a herdsman from a village who bathed in the river.

180. *Veg. Mil.* 1.3; John Chrysostom, *In Act. apost.*, *Hom.* 18.5, ed. Montfaucon, 158.

181. Avianus, *Fabulae* 5, ed. Fr. Gaide, *Fables / Avianus*, Collection des Universités de France (Paris, 1980), 82–83: “Metiri se quemque decet propriisque iuvare / laudibus.”

182. *Aesopica*, ed. Perry, 358.

183. *Sulp. Sev. Dial.* 1.3–5.

184. *Sulp. Sev. Dial.* 1.4.

185. *Sulp. Sev. Dial.* 1.5.6. Cf. 1.2.6: “Men live there if for no other reason than that they all are free from tribute.”

186. *Anth. lat.* 168, 169 [R. 178 and R. 179], *De balneis cuiusdam pauperi(s)*. For the dating of the collection, see Rosenblum (1961), 28–32. For the attribution, see above, note 94.

187. *Anth. lat.* 168 [R. 178]: “nam nova in angusto erexit balnea campo, edulibusque vires fetibus hortus olet / quae natura negat, confert industria parvis: vix sunt divitibus quae bona pauper habet.”

188. *Anth. lat.* 120 [R. 131].

189. *Anth. lat.* 169 [R. 179]: “He decorated his tiny acres with a compact bath, resourceful at founding urban places. He also—busy man—added a fruit-bearing garden, which richly nourishes its creator with various plants. The agreeable farm now exists as a double boon to its owner: on the one hand, nourishment is received from it, on the other hand, good health.” [Parvula succinctis ornavit iugera bais / urbanos callens fundere Vita !locos!. / hic quoque pomiferum coniunxit sedulus hortum, / qui vario auctorem gramine dives alat. / rus gratum domino duplici iam munere constat: / hinc capitur victus, sumitur inde salus.] The second line is garbled in the manuscripts; the Codex Salmasianus has “urbanus callens fundere vita locus.” This was corrected to “urbanos . . . locos” in Riese’s edition. I draw on Kay (2006), 318, and Busch (1999), 322, in my translation of the line.

190. *Anth. lat.* 341, *De amphitheatro in villa vicina mari fabricato* 1. Luxorius’s poems are translated in Rosenblum (1961).

4. FRUSTRATED COMMUNITIES

1. *Altercatio ecclesiae et synagogae*, CCSL 69A: 26, 27, 37, and 28.

2. *Acta Gallonii* 19–24, ed. P. Chiesa, in “Un testa agiografico africano ad Aquileia: Gli *Acta* di Gallonio e dei martiri di *Timida Regia*,” *AB* 114 (1996): 265–68.

3. See Sherwin-White (1973), especially 279–87 and 380–94, on rural communities. For the lack of importance of Roman citizenship in the late Roman period, see Liebeschuetz (2001), 346–51.

4. For the restricted access of the majority of the rural population (in particular, attributed communities) to full citizenship in a *municipium* or *colonia*, see Tarpin (2002), 236–39; Jacques (1990), 36 and 57–74; Laffi (1966). There is some controversy about the extent to which free residents of the immediate territory of a city were citizens: see below. For the *matrix publica*, *ILAlg.* II.479 (from Cirta, 180/192 C.E.): “sportulae denarii singuli secundum matricem public(am) civibus.”

5. Rostovtzeff (1957), 514, with reference to the fourth century C.E.

6. Frend (1984), 264.

7. This is in contrast to the eastern Mediterranean, where the hagiographical sources, inscriptions, and papyri attest to village headmen (*episkopoi* and *protokometai*) and village councils in the fourth and fifth centuries: see Sarris (2006), 97 and 99; Dagron (1979), 32–33; Trombley (2004), 75–81; (1994), 2: 186, 286, 320–21, 355, etc.; Banaji (2002), 194–95. For the decline of the “epigraphic habit” after the Severan period, see MacMullen (1982) and Meyer (1990), although this was partly mitigated by the growing popularity of Christian funerary inscriptions: Galvao-Sobrinho (1995); Liebeschuetz (2001), 11–19.

8. Carrié (1982) and Durlat (1990) have been the most influential proponents of the fiscal view of the colonate. Giliberti (1999), Banaji (2002), 207–12, and Sarris (2006), 149–76, emphasize the connection to previous forms of private tenancy and wage labor. Scheidel (2000), Wickham (2005b), 520–27, and Sarris (2006), 131–48, give good overviews of the debate.

9. See Wickham (2005a), 56–58, and (2005b), 523 and 465–73, for the contrast between the strong villages of the eastern Mediterranean and the weak or nonexistent villages of the West; Garnsey (1979) and Leveau (1983) for the spread of private estates as part of Roman imperialism; Tarpin (2002), 86, 189–90, 193, 196, 219–20, etc., for the meaning of *vicus* and *pagus*, neither of which corresponds to our sense of “village.”

10. Strabo 17.3.15. Cf. the fifty *poleis* seized by Masinissa from Carthage ca. 170 B.C.E., and the numerous hill forts in Carthaginian territory: App. *Pun.* 68 and 101; references from Broughton (1929), 62–63.

11. Pliny *Nat.* 5.29–30. For the dating of this list to 46–45 B.C.E., see Shaw (1981a). For the meaning of *oppidum* as “town,” see Sherwin-White (1973), 227–28, with references.

12. Pliny *Nat.* 5.1: “et alias castella ferme inhabitant.”

13. Both *oppida* and *castella* in the area of Hadrumetum sent legations to Caesar, promising him supplies and obedience: *Bell. Afr.* 6.16–18.

14. *AE* (1963), no. 94; App. *Pun.* 59. Discussed by Picard (1966), 1259–63; Pflaum (1970), 80; Lancel (1992/1995), 261. This administrative district seems to have survived as late as 158 C.E., when *CIL* 8.23599 (Mactar) attests to sixty-two *civitates* grouped under a prefect.

15. Broughton (1929) remains the best account of these changes in administrative structures.

16. For example, *ILAlg.* II.4343 for a boundary stone placed between the *ager publicus* of Cirta, the Suburbures Regiani, and the Nicibes, under Vespasian. See also *ILAlg.* II.6252, which transfers some of Cirta’s land to the other two. For tribes on large estates, see Modéran (2003b), 504.

17. For the *praefecti gentis*, see Benzina ben Abdallah (1993); see Modéran (2003b), 481–85, for the shift toward appointing prefects from within the tribe.

18. Modéran (2003b), esp. 417–21 and 439–44.

19. For peregrine towns with Punic *sufetes* and other forms of non-Roman leadership under Roman rule, see Belkahia and Di Vita-Évrard (1995); Picard (1974); Pflaum (1970). The *undecimprimi* were previously thought to serve as the town council for Libyan communities, but recent scholarship suggests that they were in fact a priestly order: Peyras (1995) and Gascou (1998), *contra* Shaw (1973).

20. *Isid. Orig.* 15.2.8: “civitates autem aut coloniae, aut municipia, aut vici, aut castella, aut pagi appellantur.” Isidore was far from early imperial North Africa, but he was using earlier grammatical sources, North African sources in particular. For Isidore’s North African grammatical sources (esp. Nonius Marcellus from Thubursicum in the early fourth century), see Fontaine (1983), 854–59.

21. *Isid. Orig.* 15.2.11: “Vici et castella et pagi hi sunt qui nulla dignitate civitatis ornantur, sed vulgari hominum conventu incoluntur, et propter parvitatem sui maioribus civitatibus adtribuuntur.”

22. *CIL* 10.6104 (= 1945); discussed by Lassère (1977), 157–58; Broughton (1929), 61–67.

23. *CIL* 8.26274 (Uchi Maius). Cf. the *duumvir* of Cirta assigning land to Roman colonists at the village Ksar Mahidjiba: *ILAlg.* II.4226 (26 C.E.). A inscription from Tignica mentions a *fundus* Tigibelle (a part of a *pagus*) that was apparently attributed to the Italian city of Taenum, possibly under Augustus: *CIL* 8.25966; *AE* (1896), 26; discussed by Izzo (1993); Tarpin (2002), 208. For Roman colonization in Africa in general, see Lassère (1977).

24. In the *castellum* at Sidi Merzug, near Sicca Veneria, a funerary epitaph was erected for C. Paccius Rogatus, a former *duumvir* of Sicca and *praefectus castell(orum)*: *CIL* 8.15726 (second century?).

25. The *duumviri* of Sicca Veneria approved a collective dedication made by the *seniores* of the village Ucubi in Sicca’s territory: *CIL* 8.15667 (ca. 165 C.E.); discussed by Shaw (1991), 31–32, 49–50 n. 54.

26. Gascou (1982b), 263; Veyne (1959), 574; Laffi (1966), 96 ff. (although he restricts the prefect’s authority to fiscal matters).

27. Agennius Urbicus, *De controversiis agrorum* 45–46, ed. C. Thulin, *Corpus agrimensorum romanorum* (Leipzig, 1913) 1.1, 20–51 (derived from Frontinus): “R(es) p(ublicae) controversias de iure territorii sole(n)t movere, quod aut indicare, munera dicant oportere in ea parte soli, aut(em) legere tironem ex vico, aut vecturas aut copias devehendias

indicare eis locis quae loca res p. adserere conantur.” Discussed by Kolendo (1991), 23. The context of this remark was Frontinus explaining how the *res publicae* of Africa frequently went to court with neighboring large estates (*saltus*) that were preventing them from requisitioning such revenues and services from their *vici*.

28. For the *seniores* of North African rural communities, see Shaw (1991), who, however, emphasizes their ability to manage their own affairs more than this chapter does.

29. For example, a dedication to Marcus Aurelius by the “*seniores Ucubitani*” with the authorization of *duumviri* of Sicca: *CIL* 8.15667. For such village epigraphy in other parts of the empire, see the important collection of papers edited by Calbi, Donati, and Poma (1993).

30. In theory, free residents whose *origo* lay in a *res publica*’s territory were full citizens of that *res publica*: Duncan-Jones (1963), 90; (1974), 259; *contra* Rostovtzeff (1957), 334 and 632 n. 33. This did not, however, apply to attributed communities: Jacques (1990), 36 and 69; Laffi (1966), 31, 43, 91–98, etc. It also did not apply to a category of free residents known as *incolae*, a term technically referring to immigrants from outside the *res publica*, but also used for indigenous peoples who had not been granted Roman or Latin citizenship when a colony or *municipium* was founded: Chastagnol (1995); Laffi (1966), 193–208; Jacques (1990), 36, 68–69, 90; Dyson (1992), 164. Even when residents of the rural territory possessed full municipal citizenship, they were often excluded (whether explicitly or in practice) from civic distributions and elections: Duncan-Jones (1974), 273–74, for civic distributions; Jacques (1990), 94 and 99, for elections. The exception appears to have been small peregrine *civitates* like Siagu in Africa Proconsularis, where the rural population appears to have been normally included in civic distributions: Duncan-Jones (1963); (1974), 264 ff.

31. For example, the “*pagus Thuscae et Gunzuzi*” discussed above.

32. *CIL* 8.14445; *CIL* 8.27416; *IL Afr.* 501 (all undated).

33. For example, a *magister pagi* of Thibilis in the territory of Cirta: *IL Alg.* II.4641. Cf. *IL Alg.* II.4642 and 4653.

34. For example, the imperial legate authorized a boundary stone for the *pagus* of Sigus in the region of Cirta: *IL Alg.* II.6515 (under Hadrian). Nevertheless, Cirta seems to have retained a claim to revenues from these lands, if the reconstruction of *IL Alg.* II.6514 (252 C.E.) is correct. This dedication to the emperors ends with “r p c e p s,” which the editors reconstruct as “*res publica Cirtensium e publicis Siguitanorum*.”

35. See Pflaum (1970), 81–82; and the discussion of the following two inscriptions in Bénabou (1976), 53.

36. *IL Afr.* 301: “*cives Romani pagani veter(anorum) pagi Fortunalis, quorum parentes beneficio divi Augusti . . . Sutunurca agros acceperunt p(ecunia) p(ublica) f(e)c(erunt)*.” There was a separate inscription by the *civitas* Sturnuca: *IL Afr.* 302 to Julia Augusta (199–202 C.E.) by the “*civitas Sturnurensis D D P P*.”

37. *CIL* 8.885 (13 km from Uthina): “*Juliae Domnae aug matri castrorum. . . . Q Silicii Victor et C Tadius Fortunatus ob honorem flam(inis) sui perpetui statuam. . . . ex decreto paganor(um) pagi Mercurialis veteranorum Medelitanor(um) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(e)cerunt idemque dedicaverunt*.” Ben Hassen and Maurin (1998) have recently suggested, however, that there may not have been an indigenous settlement at Medeli and that this was solely a village of Roman colonists.

38. *CIL* 8.26182 (found at Thibari; undated) contains the phrase “*col(oni) salt(us)*.” Marian settlement is suggested by Thibari’s designation as “*Marianus*” after it becomes a *municipium* in the third century: *CIL* 8.26181 (287–89 C.E.); Gascou (1982b).

39. *CIL* 8.26179 (198 C.E.) to Caracalla and Geta; *CIL* 8.26180 (193–96) to Julia Domna.

40. *CIL* 8.26185; better edition in Pflaum (1970), 78: “*L. Cornelio P. f(ilio) Arn(ensi) Maximo mag(istro) pagi, [q(uaestori)], decurioni c(oloniae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis), sacerdoti) Aesculapii bis praeffecto) i(ure) d(icundo) pagus Thibari(anus) patrono ob munificent(iam) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*.”

41. Brent Shaw (1991), 30, has summed up this question well: “Was the *magister*, for example, appointed from outside the *pagus* to provide a sort of external surveillance over its activities, or was he an integral part of the local government and community?” Shaw argues the latter for Tituli (CIL 8.27828), although the former (with some modifications) for places like Ucubi near Sicca. Beschtaouch (1981) proposed that the *pagi* and *castella* in the Cirtan region functioned similarly to the “double-communities” of *pagi* of Roman citizens and *civitates* of *peregrini* in northern Tunisia, an argument vigorously opposed by Gasco (1983), who views the *castella* as the central places of *pagi* made up of both Roman citizens and noncitizens. My own argument is that the *pagi* and *castella* were not contemporary; the *castella*, at least as semiautonomous communities, came into existence only in the Severan period and were by that point made up of both citizens and peregrines (although the distinction was ceasing to matter).

42. *Magistri pagi* are known from Celtianis, Phua, Thibilis, and Sigus. All were citizens. There also survives a list of men from Sigus whose names follow the M. P. (“magister pagi”). This has been interpreted as the “album” of the *pagus* of Sigus: see *ILAlg.* II.6519, with commentary. Again, all were Roman citizens. For Thibilis, the five potentially second-century inscriptions for *magistri pagi* give the names and tribe (Quirina) of the magistrates (who are dedicating to Roman gods in honor of their magistracies). Their names suggest that they were descendants of Sittian colonists: *ILAlg.* II.4641: “M. Livius Felix mag. pag.” (see Lassère 1977, 153 n. 94, for M. Livii in the Cirtan area); *ILAlg.* II.4642: “P. Sittius M. f(ilius) Quir(ina) Bland(us), C. Modius C. f(ilius) Quir(ina) Cleme(ns)” (the connection of the name Sittius to the Sittian colonists is obvious; for the Italian name Modius in the Cirtan confederation, see Lassère 1977, 184); *ILAlg.* II.4653: “M. Coranius Successus mag. pagi” (see Lassère 1977, 461 and 176, for the connection of the name “Coranius” to Sittian colonization).

43. *ILAlg.* II.4372 (third century?): “(Ci)rtensis vir ornatus q. (line 7) Sigus fui pagique ma(gister). . . .”

44. *ILAlg.* II.9434 / Gasco (1983), 194, found at Phua.

45. See especially Kehoe (1988), 188–203, who has argued that landlords actually promoted these expressions of “quasi-urbanism” so that tenants would consider the estate their community rather than an external village or tribe.

46. See, for example, CIL 8.21663, a boundary stone between the *territorium* of the *civitas* Regiae (Mauretania Caesariensis) and a *saltus*, erected by the governor in 137 C.E. For Proconsularis, see the discussion by Saumagne (1962), 257–62.

47. Agennius Urbicus, *De controversiis agrorum* 45 (derived from Frontinus).

48. CIL 8.23033 / Weber 95 (Hr. Sidi Salah). For an interpretation of these and the following estate magistrates as community leaders, not as agents of the landlord, see Kolendo (1995), 311 ff.

49. *ILTun.* 628 / Weber 80 (Djenan-ez-Zaytoûna, 40 km south of Bagradas). Weber interprets the *possessores* as Mancian *coloni*—hereditary tenants. This inscription is not clearly dated but may be contemporary with another inscription found in the same place, a dedication to Septimius Severus by C. Aufidius Utilis “Mancianae cultor” (*ILTun.* 629 / Weber 81, 202–5 C.E.).

50. CIL 8.16411 / Weber 79. This is not clearly dated—probably third century C.E.

51. Agennius Urbicus, *De controversiis agrorum* 48 (“De locis sacris et religiosis”): “Sed et inter res publicas frequenter eius modi contentio agitur de his locis in quibus conventus fiunt maiores et aliquod genus vectigalis exigitur” (derived from Frontinus).

52. Mancian tenure allowed tenants to hold land in perpetuity in return for one third of the crop.

53. Weber 68 (116–17 C.E.) / CIL 8.25902 (116–17 C.E., found at Hr. Mettich).

54. For other instances of imperial estates in the territories of tribes, compare the *Saltus*

Beguensis “territorio Musu[la]miorum, ad Casas,” in *CIL* 8.270 = 8.11451 = 8.23246 (138 C.E.), and the “defensor gentis” of the *coloni Suburburi* in Numidia: *CIL* 8.8270 / Weber 56 (161–92 C.E.; or 212 or later), discussed by Modéran (2003b), 503.

55. *CIL* 8.10570 / Weber 72, col. 4.C.

56. See *AE* (1902), 228, for the freedman *actor*, Antonius Philetus, of the landlord C. Arrius Antoninus building a temple of Caelestis at the *saltus* Bagatensis in Numidia; *CIL* 8.587 / Weber 89 for the tenants of the *saltus* Massipianus building a structure “sua pecunia” under Marcus Aurelius, with the approval of their freedman imperial *procurator*. See Agennius Urbicus, *De controversiis agrorum* 68 (“De locis sacris et religiosis”), for the need for landlords to alienate land for temples.

57. *AE* (1913), 226: “Caelesti aeternae aug(ustae) aedem a solo cum pronao et columnis et sedibus, Phosphorus exstruxit idemq(ue) dedic(avit). Item, vicum qui subiacet huic // templo longum > CCCL cum aedificiis omnibus et columnis et porticibus, et arcus -IIII-idem fecit, et nundinas instituit. Qui vicus nomine ipsius appellatur.” Toutain (1916) saw this as a second-century inscription. According to Shaw (1981b), 62, the *vicus* was located at the Aïn Melûk spring on the edge of the movements of the nomadic Suburbures Regiani and Nattabutes.

58. For the unit of measurement in this inscription as the *dupondius* (as opposed to *centuria*), see Carcopino (1918b), confirmed by Shaw (1981b), 62–63 n. 4, *contra* Toutain (1916), 62–69, and Desanges (1989), 287–88; 350 *dupondii* square = 4 ha.

59. See the examples discussed by Shaw (1981b), esp. 54–55.

60. Of my sample of twelve named *vici* from the first to early fourth century, six appear to derive their names from private individuals: *vicus* Bobius (*AE* [1957], 72), *vicus* Flavianus, *vicus* Annaeus, *vicus* Pacatensis, *vicus* Phosphorianus, *vicus* Haterianus (*CIL* 8.23125). In four of these cases, there is an explicit connection to the owner’s family: *AE* (1903), 243, for the *vicus* Flavianus; *CIL* 8.8280 for the *vicus* Pacatensis; *ILTun.* 778–79 for the *vicus* Annaeus. The *vici* on imperial estates were named after emperors: *vicus* Augusti (Maier [1973], 240); *vicus* Aureli (Peutinger Table); *vicus* Caesaris (Maier [1973], 240); *vicus* Augustorum Verecundus (*CIL* 8.4205). Only rarely were *vici* named after places instead of people, i.e., the *vicus* Turrensis and *vicus* Lambafundensis (*CIL* 8.2438). See Fentress (1979), 137–41, for the connection between veteran settlement and the *vici* on imperial estates.

61. Shaw (1981b), 63.

62. Kehoe (1988), 188.

63. *ILTun.* 778 / Weber 85 (98–102 C.E.), discussed by Broughton (1929), 201; Kehoe (1988), 194–95 n. 15; Pflaum (1970), 84.

64. In addition to the examples discussed above, there appears to have been an increase in dedications set up by *coloni* upon their own authority during the Severan period: *CIL* 8.11736 (*fundus* Ver.); *AE* (1993), 1766 (Bassenses); *ILTun.* 629 / Weber 81 (*fundus* Tapp.); *AE* (1894), 139 (*fundus* Thavagel.); *CIL* 8.588 / Weber 90 (*saltus* Massipianus). In this last example, the tenants had previously dedicated buildings through the agency of their procurator in 169–77 C.E. (*CIL* 8.587 / Weber 89), but without a procurator in 202–9 C.E. (*CIL* 8.588 / Weber 90).

65. The chronology of this titlature has been clarified by Gascou’s excellent article (1983), on which I depend heavily for the next two paragraphs.

66. *ILAlg.* II.567 (197 C.E., found at Cirta) to Caracalla; and *ILAlg.* 6511 (197 C.E.) to Julia. For its status as a *castellum*: *ILAlg.* II, 6486: “flamonii divi Severi castelli Siguitani.” References from Gascou (1983).

67. For Arsacalitanum, *CIL* 8.6048 (197 C.E.); Gascou (1983), 191. For Tiddis, *ILAlg.* II.3589 (197); *ILAlg.* II.3590; and *ILAlg.* II.3591; Gascou (1983), 180.

68. *ILAlg.* II.6869 / Gascou (1983), 190, for Sila; *CIL* 8.6306 / Gascou (1983), 193, for Phua; *ILAlg.* II.2093 / Gascou (1983), 178, for Celtianis; *CIL* 8.6341 / Gascou (1983), 194, for Uzelis. Cf. *CIL* 8.6356 *ILAlg.* II.10130 for Ma’star.

69. *CIL* 8.6002 = 19216: “respublica castelli Subzuaritani” to Caracalla and Julia Domna.
70. For the meaning of *res publica* in North African inscriptions, see Gascou (1979), 384, according to whom it indicates “un minimum d’autonomie, matérialisé par l’existence d’un *ordo decurionum*, et d’indépendance financière.”
71. *ILAlg.* II, pp. 407–8.
72. Gascou (1983), 182.
73. Gascou (1983), 193; *ILAlg.* II., pp. 968–76.
74. For example, the career of a magistrate of Uzalis appears to have been confined to that *res publica*: *ILAlg.* II.8794 (222 C.E.): “inlatis praeterea r(ei) p(ublicae) honorariis summis decurionatus et mag(isterii) -istratus.” *Contra* Gascou (1983) and (1979), 393, who argues that *magistri pagi* and *magistri castelli* were the same people, the terms *castellum* and *pagus* being used interchangeably by the third century.
75. At Sidi Merzou, *CIL* 8.15722 to Iulia Domna, and *CIL* 8.15721 to Caracalla (213 C.E.). A funerary inscription, *CIL* 8.15726, which may be earlier in date, commemorates a decurion of Sicca and “pref(ectus) castell(orum),” but this was not a collective inscription. For Ucubi, *CIL* 8.15669 (214 C.E.) to Caracalla, by “decur. Sic. Ucubi . . . et seniores k(astelli) Ucubis d.d.,” discussed above.
76. *CIL* 8.15666 (150 C.E.) to Antoninus Pius, by the “seniores Ucubitani aere conlato,” and *CIL* 8.15667 (165 C.E.?), to Marcus Aurelius, by the “seniores Ucubitani” with the authorization of *duumviri* of Sicca. The geographer Ptolemy knew of an Oukibi in this region: Ptol. *Geog.* 4.3.29.
77. *CIL* 8.1615 (213 C.E.) to Caracalla by the “seniores k(astelli),” and *CIL* 8.1616 to Julia. Nibber’s inclusion in Sicca’s territory is implied by a funerary inscription at Nibber (*CIL* 8.1621), since the man commemorated belonged to the Quirina *tribus*, shared by the citizens of Sicca and Cirta.
78. Weber 35 / *CIL* 8.8426: “coloni Caput Saltus Horreorum et Kalefacelenses Pardalarienses aram pro salute eius consacraverunt et nomen castello, quem constituerunt, Aureliane(nse) Antoninia(nense) posuerunt et d(e)d(icaverunt) an(no) p(rovinciae) CLXIII.” I have used Weber’s (1983) edition of these inscriptions. The emperor in question was Caracalla, whose actual name was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. For the creation of this new *castellum* by Caracalla, see Février (1964), 40. For a discussion of how the *coloni* of this and other estates in the Sitifis area promoted the imperial cult as a way to influence imperial agents in their favor, see now Stone (2008).
79. See in general Carcopino (1918); Février (1966), 224; (1964), 40; Christol (1994). For references to the *indulgentia* of the emperor, see Weber 42 (*Kastellum* Thib., 227 C.E.); Weber 39 (*Kastellum* Vanarzanensem, 238–39 C.E.); Weber 38 (*castellum* Vartaniense, 212–22 C.E.); Weber 46 (from Bir Haddada, 227 C.E.); Weber 47 (*castellum* Citofactense, 227 C.E.); Weber 49 (*castellum* Perdicense, 227 C.E.); and Weber 50 (*castellum* at Aïin el-Hadjar, 227 C.E.). For Sertei, Weber 33 / *CIL* 8.8828.
80. *CIL* 8.8812 / Weber 30.
81. *ILS* 9382 / Weber 37.
82. Peyras (1991) has collected the ample epigraphic and architectural evidence for one region of northern Tunisia.
83. *AE* (1917–18), no. 45 / *ILAlg.* II. 7578 (Aziz ben Tellis, Algeria, 199 C.E.): “res(p)ubl(ica) gent(is) Subu(rburum) col(onorum);” and *CIL* 8.10335 (Bordj Mamra, 216 C.E.): “respub(lica) gent[is] Suburbur[um] vias exaustas restituit”; discussed by Modéran (2003b), 502–3. Cf. the dedication to Septimius and Caracalla by the “gens Musuniorum Regianorum” in Byzacena, which was put up with “p[ecunia] p[ublica]”: *ILAfr.* 102; discussed by Modéran (2003b), 476–77 and 502.
84. *AE* (1893), 86 / Weber 58 (Lamiggiga / Ksar Seriana, Numidia, 196–201 C.E.).

85. Gascou (1982b), 260–61: “r(es).p(ublica) Lamasb(a) Antoniniana” (214); *CIL* 8.22511; “respub. Noven(sis Lambasba) Anton(ini)ana”: *CIL* 8.22503 (214). Cf. Thamallula by 215–27 C.E.: Gascou (1982b), 257 n. 144.

86. The best works on municipal promotion in North Africa are Teutsch (1962) up to Augustus, Gascou (1972) and (1982a) from Augustus to Septimius Severus, and Gascou (1982b) from Caracalla to Constantine.

87. Thugga, Thignica, Thibursicum Bure, Agbia, Numluli: Gascou (1972), 172.

88. Sululos, *municipium* Septimium, Avedda, Aulodes: Gascou (1972), 187–90.

89. Gascou (1982b), 272 and 273: Thibaris and Uchi Maius.

90. Gascou (1982b): Chidibbia (with *undecimprimi*, *CIL* 8.14875; *civitas* under Sept. Sev.: *CIL* 8.1333); Apisa Maius (*civitas* with *sufetes*, *CIL* 5.4921, 28 C.E.; *civitas* Pisa Maius “d d p p” under Sept. Sev.: *CIL* 8.777); Tepelta (*civitas* with *sufetes*, *CIL* 8.12248 in 130 C.E.; *civitas* still in *CIL* 8.12250, 241–44 C.E., to Sabinia); Abbir Cella (*civitas* *CIL* 8.893, undatable); Furnos Minus (with *undecimprimi*, *CIL* 8.25808 to Caracalla; *civitas* *CIL* 8.25808a, under Sept. Sev.); Siciliiba (with *undecimprimi*, *CIL* 8.14755 to Caracalla); Thaca (*civitas* with *sufetes*, *CIL* 8.11193, under Antoninus Pius); Uccula (*civitas* “decreto Afror(um),” *CIL* 8.14364, early second century); Thibica (*civitas* with *sufetes*, *CIL* 8.12228, under Antoninus Pius); Uzappa (Byz.) (*civitas*, *CIL* 8.11929 to Caracalla, 211–17 C.E.); Muzuc (Byz.) (“genio civitatis,” *CIL* 8.12059, under Antoninus Pius).

91. Gascou (1982b), 241–42, for Albulae and Ala Miliaria.

92. Gascou (1982b), 245–50, for the *pagi* of Rapidum and Iomnium.

93. The *castellum* at Kherbet Zembia, Maur. Sit. (*CIL* 8.20602 under Gordian) became the *municipium* Thamallula in *CIL* 8.8809 (249 C.E.); discussed by Gascou (1982b), 257.

94. Rusippisir, previously subordinate to Rusuccura, and Cissi still without city status in 226 C.E., were both *municipia* in *Tab. Peut.*: Gascou (1982b), 250 and 253. Thamallula was the “res publica Thammalulensium Antoniniaorum” in 215 and 227 C.E., but a *municipium* in the *Tab. Peut.*: Gascou (1982b), 257. Ad Sava had a *praefectus* in the second century (*CIL* 8.20321) but was a *municipium* in the *Itin. Anton. Aug.* and *Tab. Peut.*: Gascou (1982b), 258.

95. Gascou (1982b), 260–61, for Lamasba; Gascou (1983), 183, and (1982b), 265, for Thibilis; Gascou (1982b), 266–67, for the Nattabutes.

96. *AE* (1893), 86 / Weber 58 (Ksar Seriana, Numidia, 196–201 C.E.): “Anicius F[austus leg(atus) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore)] magg(istris) Lamiggi[gensibus sal(utem)]. Partem epistulae s[acr—] ab officio subic[imus—] magistros et or[quidinem decu]rionum habeat[—] saeculi felicitat[—] et rei pu[b]licae vestrae [—]. Si quis va . . .” Thomasson (1960), 2: 197–201, for the possible governorship of Anicius Faustus.

97. *ILAlg.* II.3604; Shaw (1981b), 66.

98. *ILAlg.* II.10131 (247–48 C.E.); *CIL* 8.6357; Shaw (1981b), 66.

99. Weber 69 / *CIL* 8.25943 (117–38 C.E.): “rogamus, procurato [res, per pro]videntiam vestram, quam [nomine Cae]lesaris praestatis, velitis nobis . . .” (from Aīn el’Djemala). The *coloni* are asking to have uncultivated fields given to them under Mancian tenure.

100. Weber 70 / *CIL* 8.26416 I: “aram legis divi Hadriani Patroclus Augg(ustorum trium) lib(ertus) proc(urator) instituit et legem infra sc(r)iptam intulit. Exemplum legis Hadrianae in ara proposita.” The same procurator Patroclus is found in an inscription from the *pagus* Thac. (Aīn Teki): Lassère (1977), 339.

101. Weber 41 / *CIL* 8.8702 to emp. Commodus: “(p)e[r] (. . . patro)num splend(idissimarum) colon(i)ar(um) procu(ratorem) Aug(usti)” (Kastellum Thib., 190 C.E.). *Colonia* here is used in the sense of “foundation” and probably refers to the numerous *castella* under the imperial *procuratores*. For this inscription, see also Stone (2008), 2164.

102. Février (1966), 224.

103. Calbi, Donati, and Poma (1993), 176 and 179–80.

104. For the *metrokommiae* of northern Syria, see Satre (1999), who dates their peak from the 180s to the first quarter of the fourth century C.E. (211). For village inscriptions from Syria recording the *summae honorariae* of village magistrates in 213–72 C.E., see Harper (1928), 21–22. Most of the inscriptions for village officials are from the third and fourth centuries (Harper, 45), with the exception of two *strategoi* from the second half of second century, one of whom acted under the authority of a Roman centurion: see Harper, 24–25. For Iturea, see Jones (1931), esp. 271–72, who records one *strategos* in a village from the second century (177 C.E.); multiple *strategoi* and other village magistrates (*pronoetai*) from the third; and the greatest number of village magistrates (*pistoi*, *dioiketai*) in the fourth. The same chronological change in titles is found in Syria: see esp. Harper (1928), 24–34.

105. In the early third century, Antimacheia, in Phrygia, appealed for imperial judgment in a dispute with its neighbors over labor services. The judgment was announced to the elders (*geraioi*) by an *optio*, acting for the imperial procurator: see Frend (1956), 46 ff. At Takina, on the Asian and Galatian border, a village notable petitioned Commodus to build a bath, while in 213 C.E., the community sent a letter to Caracalla regarding soldiers' depredations, referring to *archontes* and *demos*: Mitchell (1993) 1: 180. In the Upper Tembris Valley, the tenants of the *chōrion* Aragua (Yapilcan) petitioned the emperor Philip (244–49 C.E.) to protect them from the elite of a nearby city as well as from imperial soldiers: Rostovtzeff (1957), 1: 478, 2: 740–41 n. 26.

106. See Millar (1977).

107. For Rome's civilizing ethos and the ways in which provincial communities could use it to gain practical advantages such as Latin citizenship or municipal status, see Woolf (1998), 54–67.

108. Gascou (1982b).

109. *CIL* 8.22275 / Gascou (1983b), 186, for Henchir Loulou; Lepelley (1979), 2: 295–97, for Mididi. Leges and Tigisi are discussed below.

110. Under Diocletian and Maximian, a temple of Pluto in Tunisia was repaired at the request (*instantia*) of two “magg. fd. iub.l.,” which Delattre interpreted as “magistrorum fundi Iubaltianensis”: *CIL* 8.11217 / Weber 96. Iubaltianensis was later a bishopric in Byzacena.

111. *CIL* 8.17327 (under Diocletian / Maximian): “templum dei Mercuri vetustate delapsu(um) . . . issimo universi seni(o)res mas . . . rensium sumptibus suis restituerun(t et de)dicaverun(t) anno Fortunatiani mag. curatores Macidius (Aridius?) Primus” (Aïn Tella, Kroumirie, northern Numidia, in Proconsularis).

112. (Pseudo-) Julius Paulus, *Libri quinque sententiarum* 4.6.2, ed. D. Liebs, *Römische Jurisprudenz in Afrika: Mit Studien zu den pseudopaulinischen Sentenzen* (Berlin, 1993), 174. For the probable North African origin, see Liebs (1993), 38–43.

113. Février (1982a) gives a tabulation. For the general decline of the Roman “epigraphic habit,” see above, note 7.

114. The bishop lists record a Gratianopolis in Mauretania Caesariensis, which may have been a new city founded by Gratian. However, it is impossible to tell whether this was a new foundation or is simply an example of the renaming of a preexisting *municipium*. For Justinianic foundations (mostly refoundations), see Modéran (1996) and Durliat (1981).

115. *De miraculis sancti Stephani protomartyris* 1.13, *PL* 41: 840; Vict. Vit. 2.30: “Zuritanæ civitatis”; 3.28: “Aquisreiensis civitatis”; 1.23: “Aquitanae civitatis”; 3.26: “in civitate Culusitana”; 1.52: “Mizeitanae civitatis.” Other cities known only in late sources are Sinna (Proc.), a *municipium* at the Council of 553 (Maier [1973], 201); Boset (Proc.), a *civitas* in the *Passia Mammarii* 4 and at the Council of Constantinople in 553 (Lancel [1991], 1334); Nepta, in Vict. Tonn. *Chron.*, p. 189: “Laetus Neptensis civitatis episcopus”; and Tubulbacensis (Byz.), in *Gesta* 1.126, p. 722: “in civitate mea.”

116. Discussed by Lepelley (1994), who argues that the creation of new cities continued in the fourth century. This is a reversal of his earlier position—Lepelley (1979) 1: 410—that

municipal promotions ceased after Diocletian. In addition to Leges and Thullium, Lepelley (1994) proposes as an example of a newly promoted city of the fourth century the *civitas* Faustianensis, which, along with several *coloniae* and a *municipium*, set up dedications to a former governor of Byzacena between 321 and 322 C.E. His argument hinges on the proposal that, after Diocletian, the title for newly promoted cities was *civitas*, not *municipium*. It is, however, possible that these formal and archaizing decrees, erected at the ex-governor's mansion at Rome, maintained the administrative terminology of the third century—i.e., a *civitas* was a submunicipal community, which had not received the right to call itself *municipium*. The inscription in question is *CIL* 6.1688.

117. *AE* (1982), 960 (inscription dated 275–76 C.E. from Hr. Gousset), and *AE* (1982), 961 (late fourth century): “consensu splendidissimi ordinis.” These inscriptions are edited and discussed by Marcillet-Jaubert (1979) and Demsiri-Laadoua (1997), 180–82. As Marcillet-Jaubert points out, the term *coloni* in the sense of “colonists” would not have been used for a *locus*, but only for a *colonia* in North African epigraphy.

118. *CIL* 8.10702 (= 8.17616) for a priest of the imperial cult dedicating to Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian; and *AE* (1979), 41 (from Aïn Roumia, 7 km from Hr. Gousset, ca. 370 C.E.), for the repair of the *curia*. Discussed by Lepelley (1979) 2: 292–93 and Demsiri-Laadoua (1997), 183–85.

119. [Aug.] *Epist.* 270, by an anonymous correspondent of Augustine's. This letter discusses the bishop Severus of Milev, suggesting that Leges was in Numidia.

120. *CIL* 8.5209.

121. Aug. *Cur. mort.* 12.15, p. 644: “Curma nomine, municipii Tulliensis, quod Hipponi proximum est, curialis pauper, vix illius loci duumviralitius et simpliciter rusticanus.”

122. *Concilia Africae, CCSL* 149: 271 (Conc. Carthag., 525 C.E., subscriptions). Everyone else is the bishop of a *plebs*, except for *ecclesia* for Zactarensis.

123. Lepelley (1979), 1: 126, for examples of *civitas* applied to colonies. Kotula (1974) has collected examples of city titles in late Roman North African inscriptions and found that a large majority still use *colonia* or *municipium* instead of *civitas* or *res publica* by themselves.

124. *CIL* 8.23876. It probably was attributed to Bisica early on; two epitaphs for priests (*undecimprimi*) of Bisica were found at Biracsaccar: *CIL* 8.25853 and 8.12302; discussed by Peyras (1995), 285.

125. *CIL* 8.23849: “cum locis omnibus ad se pertinentibu(s) cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae) castelli Biracsaccarensium sum(ptu). . . civium a fundamentis coeptum ex(truxit). . . adque cum suo ordine dedica(vit).” Discussed by Pflaum (1970), 86–87, and Lepelley (1979) 1: 133, who suggests that all *castella* would have had councils, magistrates, and territories.

126. Lepelley (1979), 1: 131, has cited interesting examples of the use of the word *civitas* in the imperial law codes, in which a *civitas* is distinguished from a *vicus*, *castellum*, or even *municipium*.

127. *CIL* 8.14349; discussed by Peyras (1991), 266, who concludes that this was a native *civitas* or at most a *municipium* of Latin law under the high empire, because its decurion was not a Roman citizen. Its name was among those communities of Zeugitana listed on a fourth-century fiscal inscription at Carthage: *CIL* 8.12552.

128. *Concilia Africae, CCSL* 149: 191 (Conc. Carthag., 397 C.E.): “dico autem Iulianum, qui ingratus est Dei beneficiis per meam parvitatem in se collatis, ita temerarium et audacem extitisse ut eum, qui a me baptizatus est cum esset puer egentissimus mihi ab eodem commendatum. . . nescio quo contemptu humilitatis meae idem Iulianus arripuit, quem dicat **quasi proprium civem sui loci Vazaritani** me inconsulto usurpare; nam et diaconum illum ordinavit.”

129. For this use of *locus*, compare Optat. 3.4–5 for the *locus* Octavensis and *locus* Subbulensis in the countryside near Bagai; Vict. Vit. 1.41 for “in quodam loco, quae Regia vocitatur”; and the discussion by Lepelley (1994) and Jacques (1990), 63–64, on the use of

locus with the ethnic in inscriptions.

130. *CIL* 8.18767 (293–305 C.E.): “Flavio Valerio Constantio nobilissimo Caesari, ordo Tigititanus (d)evotus numini (m)aiestatique eius, ex sua conlatione posuit idemque dedicavit.”

131. According to Optat. 1.14, the bishop of Tigisi, Secundus, was held by the provincial police (*stationarii*). In Aug. *Cresc.* 3.37.30 (quoting the *acta* of the Council of 305), he was tortured by a *curator* and *ordo*: “Tu quid egisti, qui tentus es a curatore et ordine, ut scripturas dares?” The involvement of the provincial military—the *stationarii*—suggests that Secundus was transported elsewhere for trial before another city’s *curator*, probably Cirta’s.

132. *Gesta* 1.209, p. 898: “Cresconius episcopus <plebes> Siguitanae dixit; ‘Gaudentius collega noster, episcopus loci Tigititani . . .’”

133. *Passio Mammarii presbyteri* 3, *AASS*, Jun. II, 265–67 (268–271) (*BHL* 5205): “Et cum ducerentur, in vicum Tigisi ingressi sunt [*vicus* lacking in St. Gall MS], et invenerunt B. Faustina[m].” This life distinguishes between the municipal and submunicipal communities: “civitatem Vagensem,” “in civitatem Lambese,” “in civitate Tamugadi,” “in civitate Boseth Anforaria,” as opposed to “in locum, qui dicitur Ad-centum-arbores,” and “in vicum Tigisi” (*Passio Mammarii presbyteri* 1–4).

134. Procop. *Vand.* 2.13.5; Procop. *Aed.* 6.7.10. For the fortification of Tigisi by Justinian, see Durlat (1981), 53–54, with an edition of the fragmentary inscription.

135. For parallels, see Durlat (1981), no. 24, p. 57, for the *civitas nova iustiniana Zabi* (Mauretania Sitifensis), and no. 15, pp. 37–38, for Cululis Theodoriana; and the discussion in Modéran (1996). These were refoundations rather than new foundations, although the reference to Cululis receiving “statum, cives, ius” in the second inscription seems to imply a change in juridical status. According to Procop. *Aed.* 6.6.8–15, a completely new *polis* was founded by Justinian at Caput Vada, with the peasants “no longer passing their time in agricultural pursuits, but living an urban life.” Tigisi’s importance continued to grow under Byzantine rule: Gregory the Great referred to a *civitas* Tegesis in Numidia (Greg. M. *Epist.* 12.8–9), and by the seventh century, Tigisi had a *dux* (*CIL* 8.2389).

136. *CIL* 8.15723 (350–61 C.E.).

137. *CIL* 8.15724.

138. Shaw (1991) believes that the *ordo* and *curator* belong to Sidi Merzug, although the fact that the *curator* was appointed from outside (which was true for cities as well) actually meant a limitation on Sidi Merzug’s autonomy.

139. For Thibilis, *ILAlg.* II.4674 to Julian; *ILAlg.* II.4675 to Valentinian I; and *ILAlg.* II.4676 to Gratian. For Nattabutum, *ILAlg.* II.6098 by the *ordo* to Valens. Nattabutum was a *res publica civitatis* under the Severans and a full *municipium* in the course of the third century.

140. For the territory of Carthage, see Pflaum (1970), who lists only two late Roman inscriptions for the submunicipal communities (Biracsaccar and Hr. el Halouani, which makes a dedication to one of the Constantines in a fragmentary inscription, *CIL* 8.23946).

141. For example, a *procurator* erects a dedication on the senator Volusianus’s estates, *CIL* 8.25990 (from Bir Tersas, 6 km from Thubursicum Bure): “in his praed(ii)s Rufi Volusiani c. v. et Caecinae Lollianae c. f. et filiorum cccc.vvvv. Thiasus proc. fecit.”

142. *AE* (1993), 1741 (fourth century from epigraphy): “salvo iure dom(in)icae Restutus de suo propriae in is prediis restituit et dedicavit.”

143. *Passio Maximae, Secundae et Donatillae* (*BHL* 5809), ed. C. de Smedt, “Passiones tres martyrum Africanorum: Ss. Maximae, Donatillae, et Secundae, S. Typasii veterani et S. Fabii vexilliferi,” *AB* 9 (1890): 110–16, reprinted by Maier (1987–89) 1: 95–105, with a discussion of its Donatist affiliation and date. See also the English translation and discussion in Tilley (1996), 13–24.

144. *Passio Maximae, Secundae et Donatillae* 1, p. 96: “quemdam decurionem vocavit ut

Modaticium et Archadium magistratus adduceret. Qui cum venissent, iussum est eis a proconsule ut universos adscirent christianos. Qui statim miserunt privatos officiales ad publicam exhibitionem christianorum.”

145. *Passio Maximae, Secundae et Donatillae* 2, p. 97.

146. City officials were called public officials in the early fourth century: for example, in the *acta* of Cirta from ca. 303 C.E.: *Gesta apud Zenophilum* 3, ed. Maier (1987–89), 218–22 (this text is appendix 1 of Optatus, *Contra Parmenianum Donatistam*, ed. C. Ziwsa, CSEL 26: 185–97). The *officiales* here may serve the same purpose, although modified by *privatus* because they belong to an estate. It is also possible that the *privati officiales* were the equivalent of the *dominici actores*, who according to *CTh* 1.11.2 (398) should be the ones to arrest criminals on imperial estates, which Cephalitana very likely was: “si quid in rei privatae nostrae praediis sceleris esset admissum, quod pro sua atrocitate ulcisci potestas, nisi ferro accincta, non posset, exhibendorum reorum, nisi qui per dominicos deducerentur et defenderentur actores, ordinario iudici copia non pateret”; discussed by Krause (1987), 114.

147. *Gesta* 1.133, p. 752: “plebis Cefalensis.”

148. Courtois et al. (1952) is the fundamental edition and study of the Albertini Tablets. For the tablets’ maintenance of the Roman legal traditions, see Wessel (2003) with extensive bibliography.

149. Percival (1975) and Mattingly (1989) try to reconstruct the field systems. See Adams (2007), 556–60, for the various regional terms found in the tablets for irrigated plots and water channels.

150. *Tab. Albertini* 9, 18a and 15, 29a for Domos Beteres; and 8, 16a and 16b for Centenariu[m]. The term “centenarium” is sometimes found on inscriptions for Libyan *gsur*: see Elmayer (1985); Mattingly (1994), 195 and 232 n. 24; Modéran (2003b), 261. Adams (2007), 550–54, persuasively derives its etymology from *centenum* (rye) instead of from the military officer *centenarius* and suggests that it should be translated as “fortified farmhouse.”

151. *Tab. Albertini* 28, 41a for “in bure.” Cf. *CIL* 8.2589: “res publica municipii Thimidae Bure.” Other towns with the same suffix include Thubursicum Bure and Thigibba Bure, discussed by Townsend (1954), who argues that it derives from the Semitic term for a fortified place or walled city.

152. *Tab. Albertini* 2, 2b: “bendedimus donatianus victoris et saturninus cibes capprarianensium puerum unum . . . quem ab eis emit felix fortununi cibus tuletianensis.” Wessel (2003), 25 ff., discusses how unusual this civic terminology for membership in a *fundus* is. One of these *cives Capprarianensium*, Donatianus Victoris, acts as a scribe for the tenants of Tuletianos, which may suggest that community structures were not coterminous with the *fundi*: see Wessel (2003), 32.

153. The *magister* Lucianus signed for an illiterate seller in *Tab. Albertini* 6, 13b (Sept. 493) and drew up *Tab.* 9, 19b (Jan. 12, 494). The *magister* Quadratianus signed for the illiterate sellers in *Tab.* 10, 21a (March 6, 494) and drew up the document. Since in *Tab.* 25, 39a (no date), Lucianus notarized the document as *magister*, while Quadratianus witnessed without the title of *magister*, only one magistrate appears to have served at a time. This would mean a transfer of office between January 12 and March 6, not inconceivable if the year was thought to begin on March 1: cf. Ps.-Chrys. *De solstitiis et aequinoctiis*, *PLS* 1: 564; Salzman (1990), 110. Conant (2004), 203 and 223–24, argues that these *magistri* should be viewed as teachers rather than magistrates because Christian and literary texts of the Vandal period usually use the term in this sense. I prefer to link them to the abundant, though earlier, epigraphic evidence for *magistri* on North Africa *fundi* and *saltus*: see Wessel (2003), 33–36, and Kolendo (1995), 311 ff., for this interpretation. The *presbyter* Saturninus played a similar role to the *magistri* in *Tab.* 20, 40b and *Tab.* 28, 41b (scribe) but drew up far fewer documents than Lucianus and Quadratianus did.

154. Ianuarius was the first witness to *Tab. Albertini* 3, 5a; *Tab.* 4, 8a (enacted at a

neighboring estate, *fundus* Magula); *Tab.* 6, 13b; and *Tab.* 9, 19b; and a plot holder in *Tab.* 5, 9b; *Tab.* 6, 12b; and *Tab.* 19, 33b.

155. This is suggested by Pavis D'Escurac (1980), 186–88.

156. The tenants were selling their plots according to a fixed price per tree, which held constant over the years: Grierson (1959). The relatively low prices have sometimes been interpreted as a sign of economic crisis, but it is possible that money was simply worth more in this isolated region.

157. *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 210 (Conc. Carthag., 403 C.E.). The bishops agreed to use the same *forma* when asking secular officials to intervene. The bishop of each place should ask the magistrate or *senior* to bring the Donatist rival to a secular court on the authority of the church council. Once at the secular court, the Catholic bishop would arrange a separate meeting for the debate. This is an interesting example of bishops calling upon secular powers to enforce their council's decision, as Constantine had given them the right to do.

158. *Gesta* 2.73 (Marcellinus, *Edictum cognitioris*), pp. 974–76.

159. *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 210 (Conc. Carthag., 403 C.E.).

160. *Gesta* 3.174, p. 1120 (Letter of the Council of Carthage to the proconsul Septiminus, 403 C.E.).

161. *Gesta* 3.174, p. 1120: “Aut si putant se habere aliquid veritatis, non eam furiosis circumcellionum violentiis contra publicam quietem sed tranquilla rationis redditione defendant.” Hermanowicz (2008), 48–49, discusses this Catholic strategy of portraying the Donatists as belonging to the world of orality and irrational violence as opposed to the Catholic world of written law.

162. *CTh* 16.5.52 (412).

163. The village Orcistus in Asia Minor, which Constantine promoted to *polis* status in the 320s, is the best-known example: Chastagnol (1981). See Jones (1964) 1: 719–20, for other examples.

164. Jones (1964) 1: 722–31; Jacques (1984), 383–88.

165. See Goffart (1974), 34, 44–45, and 61–64, for late imperial micromanagement of tax collection; see [chapter 3](#) above for the confiscation of municipal revenues.

166. Aug. *In psalm.* 93.7. Augustine's point, it should be pointed out, was that the poor should place their hope in God, not men.

167. Ps.-Sulpic. Sev. *Epist.* 6.4 (*Ad Salvium*), ed. Lepelley (1989), 241: “En causa est cur insignis prudentia tua meis minitetur actoribus ut, cum dominus loci non sis, passim colonorum meorum facias mentionem.” Salvius's claim appears to have been connected with navy taxes attached to twenty *iugera* of the estate: see Lepelley's discussion (246–49). According to Lepelley, these two letters among the *spurii* of Sulpicius Severus were written by a North African landlord near Matar, Tunisia, in the early fifth century (Matar is mentioned in *Epist.* 6). Some scholars, however, still consider a Sulpician authorship possible, on the assumption that Sulpicius might have owned North African property: see Sirks (1999).

168. Ps.-Sulpic. Sev. *Epist.* 6.2: “et rucolas meos cur velis exhibitionis urgere formidine, non agnosco.”

169. Ps.-Sulpic. Sev. *Epist.* 6.2: “Volusianenses ais te velle reduces, ac frequenter iratus ingeminas te rusticos ex mea turricula retracturum.” Sirks (1999) argues that the author was probably not the landlord of the *fundus* Volusianus, but rather of a neighboring estate.

170. Ps.-Sulpic. Sev. *Epist.* 1.4: “desinas, quaero, inertes et trepidos conturbare, et iactantiam tuam procul exerceas, et existimes me laetari tua superbia, non offendi: nec nudi enim nec ineruditi sumus.”

171. Chakrabarty (2000), 5, referring to Hichem Djait.

5. BISHOPS WHERE NO BISHOPS SHOULD BE

1. Maier (1973), supplemented by Lancel (1991), provides the most recent list of the North African bishoprics, although Maier should be used with the criticisms of N. Duval (1974) in mind. Not all of these places had bishops at the same time. At the Council of 411, there were 285 Donatist bishops and 286 Catholics (official number), with 110 of Donatists without declared rival, and 114 of the Catholics (Lancel 1991, 1333–34), bringing the total of nonoverlapping sees to approximately 399. Both sides, however, claimed that many of their bishops were absent—120 in the case of the Catholics. The *Notitia* of 484 listed 292 bishops for Proconsularis, Numidia, and Byzacena.

2. See Demougeot (1972), 899–902, for Gaul; *PCBE* 2, 2403–27, for Italy; and “Asia” in *DHGE* 4: 987, for Asia Minor.

3. Rural bishoprics elsewhere tend to occur mainly in areas without strong city structures: see Bowes (2002), 339–54; Jones (1964) 2: 877–78. An exception, however, would appear to be the neighboring Cyrenaica, which seems to have come close to Latin North Africa’s density of rural bishops: Roques (1987), 340 and 353 ff.

4. For the *chorepiscopi* of the East, see Mitchell (1993) 2: 69–71; Hess (1958), 100–103; Dagron (1979), 44–47; Sartre (1999), 215–19. For the West, see Bowes (2002), 339–54; Gottlob (1928). None are attested for North Africa.

5. Lancel (1964); Markus (1979); Tilley (1999).

6. *C. Sard.* can. 6; *C. Laod.* can. 57; Leo M. *Epist.* 12.10, *PL* 54: 654–55, to the African bishops; Greg. M. *Epist.* 1.73 (August 591) to the exarch, Gennadius, regarding primates “per villas.”

7. Lancel (1990), drawing on Augustine’s *Epistula* 20*, has associated the high number of rural bishoprics with the competition between Donatists and Catholics. R. A. Markus has linked the rural bishoprics to a pre-Constantinian view of the church as separate from the secular world: Markus (1970), esp. 105–32; (1979), 15. W. H. C. Frend, in his influential *Donatist Church* (1952), 48–59, considered the rural bishops to be evidence of the “Numidian and agrarian” nature of Donatism.

8. Gerontius, *Vita sanctae Melaniae senatricis Romae* 21.4, ed. P. Laurence, *Gérontius, La vie latine de sainte Mélanie* (Jerusalem, 2002). The passage does not appear in the Greek recension of the *Vita*, which, among other things, may suggest an African connection for the Latin translation: see Laurence (2002), 140.

9. See the appendix below. For reasons of feasibility, I have not quantified the number of bishoprics in the Mauretania or Tripolitania, although I have included them in the discussion.

10. *Concilia Africae*, *CCSL* 149: 190 (Conc. Carthag., 397 C.E.).

11. Maier (1973) conveniently lists the bishops present at each of these councils, in addition to the Council of Cebarussus and other fourth-century councils.

12. *Concilia Africae*, *CCSL* 149: 189–90 (Conc. Carthag., 397 C.E.), discussed above. At the Council of 411, the Catholics claimed that 120 of their bishops were absent: see Lancel (1972), 118–19 for discussion.

13. See Y. Duval (1984), esp. 513–14, for a more detailed discussion of why there were few nonurban bishoprics in the third century.

14. Lancel (1990), 274.

15. For example, Gor (*civitas Goritana*) has a bishop only in 256, Limisa only in 646, Succubensis in 646, Sutunurca in 252, and Ululi in 256. See Maier (1973); and the appendix below for references.

16. This is the ratio in the *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae*, *CSEL* 7: 117–34 (dated ca. 484 C.E.).

17. See Modéran (2002), esp. 108–10. No lists of the Arian bishops survive.

18. For example, the Numidian primates Secundus of Tigisi (312 C.E.), Silvanus of Summensis (412–16), and Valentinus of Vainenensis (419)—if the identification of the latter’s see is correct—all presided over rural or obscure communities: see Maier (1973); and Tigisi and Vainenensis in the appendix. Greg. M. *Epist.* 1.73 (August 591) complained of bishops who were residents of estates becoming North African primates. For North African procedures for choosing primates, see Markus (1979), Tilley (1999), and Decret (1996), 116.

19. See above, note 7.

20. *Gesta* 1.181, pp. 822–24: “scriptum sit istos omnes in villis vel in fundis esse episcopos ordinatos, non in aliquibus civitatibus.”

21. *Gesta* 1.182, p. 824: “sic etiam tu multos habes per omnes agros dispersos. Immo crebros ubi habes, sane et sine populis habes.”

22. *Gesta* 1.135, pp. 774–76.

23. *Gesta* 1.204, p. 874.

24. *Aug. Epist.* 20*.3.

25. *Ibid.* 209.5 (to Pope Celestine); 20*.23.

26. *Aug. Epist.* 105 (409–20 C.E.) discusses the priest sent to Siniti, the conversion of Siniti’s Donatist bishop Maximinus to the Catholics, and the subsequent outcry against him. For the extant sermons preached by Maximinus and Augustine on the occasion of Maximinus’s conversion to Catholicism (406/7 C.E.), see Dolbeau (1995a); and below, chapter 6.

27. *Gesta* 1.202, p. 870.

28. See *PCBE* 1: 650, “Lucillus,” for the identification. Whether the native language was Punic or a form of Libyan influenced by Punic is still a matter of some debate: see Camps (1994).

29. See *PCBE* 1: 650, for the chronology of his ordination; *Aug. Civ.* 22.8.11 for his parade of the relics of Stephen.

30. *Gesta* 1.204, p. 874.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Aug. Epist.* 20*.3.

33. *Concilia Africae*, *CCSL* 149: 9 (Conc. Carthag., 345–48 CE).

34. *Ibid.*: “factum hoc dolendum est ut in se illiciant populorum imperitorum animos contra disciplinam, contra evangelicam traditionem, contra pacis placita.”

35. *Concilia Africae*, *CCSL* 149: 14 (Conc. Carthag., 390 C.E.): “dioeceses quae numquam episcopos habuerunt non habeant, vel illa dioecesis quae aliquando habuit habeat proprium.” Note that *diocesis* here, as in most of the fourth- and fifth-century texts, comes closer to meaning “parish” than “the area of a bishop’s jurisdiction,” which is typically expressed as *ecclesia* or sometimes *paroecia*.

36. *Concilia Africae*, *CCSL* 149: 189–90 (Conc. Carthag., 397 C.E.).

37. *Ibid.*, p. 190.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*, p. 216 (Conc. Carthag., 407 C.E.).

40. Ferrand. *Canon.* 13: “Ut episcopus non ordinetur in dioecesi quae episcopum nunquam habuit, nisi cum voluntate episcopi ad quem ipsa dioecesis pertinet, ex concilio tamen plenario et primatis auctoritate” (Conc. Carthag. tit. 52).

41. *Gesta* 1.130, p. 742.

42. *Gesta* 1.65, pp. 677–78.

43. *Gesta* 1.130, p. 742: “cum saepe a ciuibus meis peterer ut eos in communionem ecclesiae catholicae suscepissem, rogauerunt eam ut eis episcopus daretur. Petiuerunt me, et ordinatus sum.”

44. *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 216 (Conc. Carthag., 407 C.E.): “sane ut illae plebes quae conuersae sunt a Donatistis et habuerunt episcopos, sine dubio, inconsulto concilio, habere mereantur.”

45. Cypr. *Epist.* 66.6.

46. Ibid. 66.8: “illi sunt ecclesia plebs sacerdoti adunata et pastori suo grex adhaerens. unde scire debes episcopum in ecclesia esse et ecclesiam in episcopo et si qui cum episcopo non sint in ecclesia non esse.”

47. *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 14 (Conc. Carthag., 390 C.E.).

48. For reconciling penitents, see *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 185 (Conc. Carthag., 397 C.E.). See [chapter 6](#) below for a discussion of the preaching of priests.

49. Cypr. *Epist.* 38.1.

50. Aug. *Epist.* 18*.2.

51. For example, Aug. *Epist.* 20*.2.

52. See Norton (2007), [chap. 3](#), in general. The rural bishops, in particular, have too often been portrayed as the mere appointees of their landlords: for example, Pottier (2008).

53. The Council of Nicaea (325) 4.288 required at least three bishops, confirmed by the metropolitan. The Council of Antioch (341) required the presence of the metropolitan.

54. *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 18 (Conc. Carthag., 390 C.E.).

55. Ferrand. *Canon.* 11: “Ut ad eligendum episcopum sufficiat matricis arbitrium.”

56. For the empire as a whole, see Norton (2007); Y. Duval and Pietri (1990). For North Africa, Evers (2001), 106–21; Jacques (1984), 427–29.

57. Cypr. *Epist.* 67.4.1–2 (a synodal letter to the Christians of Legio, Asturica, and Emerita). See the discussion of this and other examples in Jacques (1984), 427–29, and Evers (2001), 110–21.

58. Aug. *Epist.* 20*.10, discussed below. Riggs (2006), 304, draws the conclusion that landlords were reluctant to alienate their tenant farmers by means of religious coercion.

59. Aug. *Epist.* 20*.21.1.

60. Ibid. 20*.21.5. The participation of women in an episcopal election is also attested at the village of Palaibiska in Cyrenaica: Roques (1987), 316; Synesius *Epist.* 66.105.

61. Aug. *Epist.* 213.3; discussed by Gaudemet (1979).

62. *Gesta apud Zenophilum* 19, ed. Maier (1987–89), pp. 237–38: “Nundinarius diaconus dixit, ‘Campenses et harenarii fecerunt illum episcopum!’ Zenophilus v. c. consularis Crescentiano dixit: ‘Mutus harenarius certe eum sustulit?’ Dixit: ‘Manifeste!’ ” This text is the record of an *inquisitio* before the governor of Numidia in 320 C.E. and is transmitted as appendix 1 of Optatus, *Contra Parmenianum Donatistam*, CSEL 26: 185–97.

63. Aug. *Epist.* 22*.5.3.

64. Ibid. 22*.7.1.

65. Ferrand. *Vita Fulg.* 14, p. 75: “Propter quod ex omnibus possessionibus ubicumque transiebat, populus confluerat ad favendum, Ruspensi Ecclesiae, quanto serius, tanto meliorem confitentes provenisse pontificem.”

66. For the *suffragium populi* in North African municipal elections and imperial attempts to make them less violent, see Jacques (1984), 383–88. The key sources are (Pseudo-) Julius Paulus, *Libri quinque sententiarum* 5.36, ed. D. Liebs, *Römische Jurisprudenz in Afrika* (Berlin, 1993), p. 208, probably composed in late third-century Africa, and Constantine’s *CTh* 12.5.1 (325/326 C.E.).

67. See Gibbon (1776–88), chap. 20, p. 660, writing about episcopal elections in general. See also Norton (2007), 56 ff., for the popular violence often associated with contested episcopal elections.

68. *AE* (1894), 138 / Gsell and Graillot (1894) no. 78 / Gsell (1911), f. 27, no. 278 (20 km

from Thamugadi; fourth century?): “Venusianenses initiaverunt, (M?)ucronienses columnas V dederunt, Cuzab(e)tenses dederunt columnas VI, omnes apsida[m] straverunt, plus Cuzabete(n)ses ornaverunt, Rogatus presbiter et Emilius zacon [= diaconius] edificaverunt.” For discussions of this inscription, see Gsell and Graillot (1894), 24–25; Modéran (2003b), 506; Jacques (1992), 128; Demsiri-Laadoua (1995), 196–98.

69. *Gesta* 1.198, p. 858, Innocentius Guzabetensis.

70. The inscription was found reused in a post-Roman settlement (no. 82) on the plain, but it almost certainly originated in the church about 100 m away. At the same site, there was a funerary inscription for a veteran of the praetorians and another for a former *strator legati*, suggesting that this may have been a veteran settlement of some importance: Gsell and Graillot (1894), 26. The best candidates for the other two communities are a hamlet with olive presses on the plain 600 m to the southeast (no. 83) and either Henchir Zerdan (no. 81), an important village on a hill 1.3 km to the north, or the imperial estate near it at Aïn Bida (no. 80): Gsell and Graillot (1894), 20–28.

71. Aug. *Epist.* 209, CSEL 57: 347–53 (to Pope Celestine); and *Epist.* 20*, *Oeuvres de saint Augustin* 46B: 291–343 (to Fabiola, a Roman senatorial friend). The most important discussions of Antoninus of Fussala are by Lancel (1983), esp. 267–84; Frend (1983); Merdinger (1997), 154–82; and Brown (2000), 468–69.

72. Aug. *Epist.* 20*.3; 209.2.

73. Aug. *Epist.* 20*.6.

74. Ibid. 20*.29.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid. 20*.9: “deinde maior senex misit Fussalam episcopos, coram quibus eligeretur suffragiis quis eis ordinaretur episcopus et ad se ordinandus dirigeretur, et factum est.”

77. Aug. *Epist.* 20*.9, with Lancel’s emendation: “consensit, ut octo plebes quae ad ecclesiam Fussalensem nonnullis causis ad suffragia de ordinando episcopo ferenda non uenerant sibi deputarentur” (“non” missing in the manuscript).

78. Aug. *Epist.* 20*.10: “porro idem coloni, quia eum de uicinitate iam senserant et cum aliis mala illa pertulerant, scripserunt ad dominam possessionis, si hoc fieri permisisset, se continuo migraturos.”

79. See Merdinger (1997), 154–82, for the importance of papal involvement in this case.

80. Aug. *Epist.* 209.2.

81. Ibid. 20*.31: “reddite mihi domum meam quam in uestro castello aedificaui.”

82. Aug. *Epist.* 56 (to Celer, *post* 404) for conversion to Catholicism; 57 (to Celer) for Celer’s employees Paternus and Maurusius trying to convert his domains in the Hippo region; 139 for Celer’s procurator Spondeus acting against bands on Celer’s lands with the help of Marcellinus (an imperial tribune); and 209.5 for Antoninus of Fussala complaining about Celer’s power in his diocese.

83. Aug. *Civ.* 22.8. This episode took place between 406 and 411.

84. Aug. *Epist.* 20*.20. *Actores*, at least in Augustine’s letters, appear to be the resident agents (often slaves), to whom the *coloni* actually paid their rents; *procuratores* were the landlords’ agents, who acted as mediators between the landlords and tenants and sometimes directly managed the estates.

85. Aug. *Epist.* 20*.13.

86. Ibid. 20*.6: “per hos duos clericos, prebyterum et diaconum, et per ecclesiae defensorem et per quandam alium siue exmitem siue desertorem cui familiaris imperabat et per eos quos eiusdem castelli homines ad nocturnas custodias uigiles fecerat.” For an interesting discussion of the role of veterans in North African villages, see Morizot (1984–85), focusing on Tazembout in the Aurès Mountains.

87. Aug. *Epist.* 20*.6.

88. Ibid. 20*.30.
89. *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 251 (Conc. Hippon., 427 C.E.). Aug. *Epist.* 20*.6 refers to complaints made against Antoninus “apud episcopos in ecclesia Hipponiensis,” probably a reference to the council from which this canon derives.
90. Aug. *Epist.* 209.5.
91. Ibid. 20*.20.
92. *Conductores* leased the right to collect the rents from an estate for five years. They had a landlord’s rights, but not a landlord’s long-term interest in the well-being of the estate and its *coloni*.
93. *Epist.* 20*. 19: “Fuimus et in quodam loco ex illis octo qui ei fuerant deputati et ubi sine ulla controversia praesidebat.”
94. For the judicial power of bishops (*episcopalis audientia*), see Rapp (2005), 242–52; Cimma (1989); Lamoreaux (1995); and [chapter 7](#) below. I have argued elsewhere that it was especially in rural communities like Fussala that bishops usurped the judicial powers of magistrates: see Dossey (2001).
95. Ward-Perkins (1996), 6; and Harries (1992). For a similar eastern Mediterranean shift in the meaning of *polis* by the seventh century, see Brandes (1999), 27 ff.
96. Vict. Vit. 2.9.30: “filia sum quondam Zuritanae civitatis episcopi.” The bishops had met the old woman carrying a bundle and a child on the road when the bishops were exiled to the desert by Huneric.
97. *Gesta* 1.133, p. 750: “Qui (Trifolius Aborensis) supra pro Paulino Zurensi praesente, litteras nesciente. . . . accedente episcopo Paulino catholico idem dixit: ‘Catholica est.’ Habetdeum diaconus Primiani episcopi dixit: ‘Presbyter est illic noster. Dioecesis est nostra.’ ”
98. Vict. Vit. 3.52, 1.23, and 1.10.
99. Tigisi: Procop. *Vand.* 2.13.5 and 2.10.21; Mammes (Byz.): Procop. *Aed.* 6.6.17–18 (Justinian may have promoted this to a *polis*, since it was only a *chōrion* when his armies had a victory there); Pentebagaē and Phlōrentianē (Num.): Procop. *Aed.* 6. 7.8; Lari-bouzouōn, Paratourōn, and Medela: Procop. *Aed.* 6.7.10. The latter had been a native *civitas* associated with a *pagus* in the third century: *CIL* 8.885 (Bou Rebia, Tunisia).
100. See Maier (1973), 383, 430, 437.
101. Greg. M. *Epist.* 1.82, 12.8.
102. Anonymous of Ravenna, *Cosmographia* 3.6, ed. J. Schnetz, *Itineraria romana* (Leipzig, 1940), 2: 39: “in qua Numidia plurimas fuisse civitates legimus, id est civitas Membronem, q. confinator iuxta Mare Magnum cum iam praenominata Utica civitates Africanae regiones.” This text is dated to the end of the seventh century. The author’s alleged source for Numidia was “Castorius Romanorum phylosophus” (Anon. Rav. 3.6, p. 38); and for North Africa as a whole: “ego legi Provinum atque Melitianum genere Afros, sed et Castorium Romanorum phylosophum” (Anon. Rav. 3.5, p. 37). These names may be mere fiction.
103. Ferrand. *Canon.* 12: “Ut episcopus in villa vel vico non ordinetur,” translating Canon 55 of the Council of Laodikeia (360s C.E.).
104. Greg. M. *Epist.* 1.72 (Aug. 591), to Gennadius the exarch: “ipse vero primas non passim sicut moris est per villas, sed in una iuxta eorum electionem civitate resideat, quatenus adeptae dignitatis meliori genio resistendi Donatistis possibilitas disponatur.”
105. Vict. Vit. 3.48 for a Vandal priest attacking Catholics in the *locus* Regia, and for Vandal bishops with armed bands surrounding the *vici* and *oppida*; 3.57 for starving rustics besieging the *urbes*, *oppida*, and *vici*..
106. Anon. *Jb.*, PG 17: 496.
107. Vict. Tonn. *Chron.*: *urbis*: “urbis Carthaginensis” (p. 197), “regiae urbis” (p. 199, for Constantinople), Alexandria (p. 204); *civitas*: “Laetus Neptensis civitatis episcopus” (p. 189);

“Benenatum primae Iustinianae civitatis episcopum” (p. 202); *castellum*: “castellum Diocletiani” (p. 204, Egypt); “castellum Zundaber” and “Paraxenensi castello” (p. 194, also in the East).

108. For example, Coripp. *Ioh.* 6.55: “subeunt urbes castella locosque.”

109. Ferrand. *Vita Fulg.* 10, p. 59: “Offertur a quodam, nomine Silvestrio, bene christiano et provinciae Byzacenae primario, locus aptus monasterio fabricando, . . . honestis plurimis per vicinas possessiones commanentibus, quorum frequens oblatio transactionem facillimam monachis promittebat.”

110. Ferrand. *Vita Fulg.* 13, pp. 69 and 71.

111. Ibid. 14, p. 73: “Erat adhuc Ruspe oppidum nobile, clarissimis habitioribus prorsus illustre, cui nullus fuerat episcopus ordinatus. . . . Dolor honestorum civium mentes vehemens exagitabat, cur soli remansissent sine patre spiritali, qui videbantur super ceteros excellere nobilitate carnali.”

112. Procop. *Vand.* 2.13.5 for the *polis* Tigisi near Centuriae, unfortified at the time. Procop. *Aed.* 6.7.10 lists Tigisi among the *poleis* of Numidia fortified by Justinian.

113. Procop. *Vand.* 2.10.22–23. This story may be related to the belief known from Donatist sources that the Phoenicians were the descendants of Noah, who had settled in the city of Tyre: Tilley (1997a), 148.

114. See Durliat (1981) no. 22, p. 53, for fragments of an inscription commemorating Justinian’s fortification at Tigisi; Procop. *Aed.* 6.7.10 for the fortification of Tigisi and other *poleis*.

6. PREACHING TO PEASANTS

1. *Hist. Aug. Gord.* 7.4–8.4.

2. Ibid. 7.4.

3. See Matthews (1989), 372–73, for the fortified estates used by Firmus; Gebbia (1988) for the (alleged) circumcellion involvement.

4. For the modest background of many bishops, especially early on, see Rapp (2005), 173–78; and for the prohibition on bearing weapons, see the probably Donatist treatise, *Ps.-Cyp. Singul. cler.* 33, CSEL 3.3, p. 209.

5. See especially Brown (1992).

6. MacMullen (1989), 510. Scholars who have taken issue with MacMullen’s thesis include Maxwell (2006), Clark (2001), and Rousseau (1998).

7. MacMullen (1990), 272.

8. Klingshirn (1994), 227. For a more expansive view of the priests’ role, see Olivar (1991), 530–45.

9. A important exception to this is Jaclyn Maxwell’s (2006) study of the preaching of John Chrysostom.

10. See Lepelley (1979) 2: 225, for a Diocletianic inscription of Thullium’s *curator* planting trees as a *munus*; *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 271 (Conc. Carthag., 525 C.E.) for the first known bishop.

11. *Aug. Cur. mort.* 12.15, CSEL 41, pp. 645 ff., for the priest of the *fundus* and his relationship with the Christians of Thullium.

12. *Aug. Cur. mort.* 12.15, CSEL 41, p. 644.

13. Ibid., p. 646.

14. De Ste. Croix (1981), 467; Harmless (1995), 244: “So he, like others from the surrounding villages, would make their way to Hippo near the beginning of Lent.”

15. These have been conveniently listed by Harmless (1995), 297–98 and 340–45.
16. Aug. *S.* 212.
17. Aug. *S.* 216 (to *competentes*).
18. Aug. *S.* 58 (*traditio orationis*).
19. Aug. *S.* 56 (*traditio orationis*), col. 381.
20. Aug. *S.* 392.
21. Aug. *S.* 56, col. 385.
22. Aug. *S.* 224.3. In Aug. *S.* 58 (*traditio orationis*), he should regard his male slaves as spiritual brothers.
23. Aug. *S.* 353 (Sunday after Easter, esp. to the newly baptized): a man owes the same obedience to God that he expects from his slaves.
24. Aug. *S.* 392: “Erubescit nec senator, sed tantum curialis, quod non erubuit imperator? Erubescit plebeius sive negotiator, quod non erubuit imperator?” *CTh* 9.21.1 (319 C.E.) differentiates between punishments for decurions, plebians, and people of servile *conditio*. More explicitly, *CTh* 16.5.52 (412 C.E.) sets different fines and punishments for *principales*, *decurions*, *negotiatores*, *plebei*, *circumcelliones*, and *servi / coloni*. Both of these edicts were sent to Africa.
25. Aug. *S.* 212 (*traditio symboli*), col. 1058.
26. Aug. *S.* 233.4 (Easter Monday). The same sermon calls the resurrection a *merces*.
27. Aug. *S.* 56.11.
28. See Aug. *S.* 58.1 (*traditio orationis*) for all three metaphors, and 213.5 (*traditio symboli*) and 215.7 (*reditio symboli*) for advocate metaphors. The audience was imagined to take someone to court for ripping their tunic: *S.* 213.
29. Aug. *S.* 56 refers to a *sponsio*; Aug. *S.* *Guelf.* 9, 229E (Easter Monday) to a *cautio* and *chirographum*.
30. Aug. *S.* 57 (*traditio orationis*).
31. See Aug. *S.* 216 for the games; 249 (Easter Friday) for property found in a *vicus* (meaning “suburb”; Augustine never uses the term *vicus* in the sense of “village”).
32. Aug. *S.* 216 to *catechumini*, preached when Augustine was still a priest, called them “contirones mei” and “vester oppugnator vestris iaculis armabatur.” Another sermon compares heretics to military deserters, who had betrayed the “character” of their baptism: Aug. *Sermo de symbolo ad catechumenos* 8.
33. Aug. *S.* 213. Cf. the new plants in the Lord’s field during Easter week: *S.* 376 and *S. Mai* 89.
34. Aug. *S.* 216.3.
35. Aug. *S.* 392.5. Cf. the Easter-week sermons *S.* 376, *S. Guelf.* 18, and *S. Mai* 94 for grain and chaff in the *area* of the church.
36. Aug. *S.* 56. Cf. the *operarii* in the Lord’s vineyard in *S.* 376, during Easter week.
37. Aug. *S.* 146 on John 21 (“pasce agnos meos”) compares the *candidati* to sheep under the vigilant care of the church and warns them against bad flocks of heretics and unfaithful. *S. Mai* 94.5 (Octave Sunday) spoke of feeding pigs (cf. Luke 15.15).
38. Aug. *S.* 215 (*reditio symboli*); 57 (*traditio orationis*); 58 (*traditio orationis*); 59 (on the Lord’s Prayer).
39. Aug. *S.* 223.1 (Easter vigil). Cf. Aug. *In evang. loh.* 3.1.
40. Aug. *S.* 229. Cf. *S.* 227; *S.* 272 = Ps.-Fulg. *S.* 34; *S. Guelf.* 7 for similar milling and baking metaphors. Harmless (1995), 300–324, discusses these metaphors in their liturgical context.
41. Aug. *S. Wil.* 7: “opifices, agricolae, nautae, piscatores, viatores, mercatores, quarumque rerum administratores, iudices, causidici, litterarum emptores et venditores,

potestate praediti, potestatibus subditi, et quidquid est artium vel industriae quo humana vita transigitur.”

42. Quodvultdeus, *Sermones 1–13*, ed. R. Braun, *CCSL* 40. He reminded them that they had had God to thank for their *substantia* and their freedom (*Sermo* 5.22), warned them against attending the public games and theater, and spoke of their necks being humbled that were previously exalted. As for his metaphors (for which he owed a heavy debt to Augustine), the church is the *sponsa* of Christ (*Sermo* 6), a mother who fed her sons (*Sermo* 13.1). Quodvultdeus also played on the church’s role as the “house of God,” one of the roles of a great *domus* being to feed its *familia* (12.2). Some sermons show awareness of urban poor: Quodvultdeus was afraid of Arians bribing the needy with food (*Sermo* 13.6–7). Converts were warned not to desert their noble mother (*Sermo* 13.1). Heretics were compared to bad slaves insulting their *domina* (*Sermo* 13.4). The Dominus had freed his *familia* from the devil (*Sermo* 1) and was arming his *tirones* against the devil’s weapons of pleasure and fear (*Sermo* 1.13 ff.). Now they should claim their freedom and hope to become members of the celestial *curia* (*Sermo* 1). Metaphors about agriculture played no role in catechumenal sermons, although *Sermo* 11, *De tempore barbarico I*, uses them (some scholars have doubted the attribution to Quodvultdeus: see Dekkers [1995], 158). Architectural metaphors are important in *Sermo* 7 “de cataclysmo” to catechumens and more briefly in *Sermo* 9. Commerce has only a brief mention in *Sermo* 6.

43. See Lancel (1984) for the extraordinary size of Hippo’s diocese; Raven (1969), 79, for the ranking of North African cities.

44. See below, pages 162–67.

45. *Acta Gallonii* 23–24, ed. P. Chiesa, “Un testa agiografico africano ad Aquileia: Gli *Acta* di Gallonio e dei martiri di *Timida Regia*,” *AB* 114 (1996): 265–68.

46. *Passio Mammarii presbyteri* 2, *AASS*, Jun. II, 265–67 (268–71): the deacon Felix and two Christians, Albinus and Donatus, who lived at the *locus* Ad Centum Arbores near Lambaesis, called Mammarius “pater noster qui nos regeneravit ex aqua et spiritu sancto.”

47. Ferrand. *Vita Fulg.* 14, p. 75.

48. Ps.-Aug. *Sermones dubii*, S. 360, *PL* 39: 1598–99 (*Ad vigilias Maximiani de quodam Donatista qui reversus est ad Ecclesiam*). For the attribution and a new edition, see Dolbeau (1995a). It was probably preached at the same time as Aug. S. Dolbeau 27 (= S. Mayence 63) when Augustine and Maximinus were traveling together ca. 407 C.E., perhaps at Thagaste: see Dolbeau (1991).

49. Aug. *Epist.* 34.

50. Gennadius, *De viris illustribus* 74, ed. E. C. Richardson, *Texte und Untersuchungen* 14 (Berlin, 1896): “Asclepius Afer, in Baiensi (*alt.* Vagensi) territorio vicini grandis episcopus, scripsit Adversum Arianos et modo Adversum Donatistas scribere dicitur. In docendo autem ex tempore grandi opinione celebratur.” Lancel (1991), 1324, suggests a possible identification with Bai(an)ensis, a Donatist *ecclesia* in Numidia, but the *colonia* Vaga (Bagensis or Vagensis) is more likely to have had a territory. Bardenhewer (1924), 4: 545, corrects “vicini grandis” to “vici non grandis” and is followed by Maier (1987–89), 2: 307. I think it as likely that Gennadius gave the ethnic for Asclepius’s *ecclesia* here, as he did in *Vir. ill.* 19 or 42: i.e., “vici Nigrandis.”

51. Gennad. *Vir. ill.* 79. No recognized town named Castellanus is known in any of the Mauretaniae. There are two *ecclesiae* named Castellanus in the church council subscription lists—Castellanus in Mauretania Caesariensis (with bishops in 411 and 484) and Castellanus in Mauretania Sitifensis (with a bishop in 484): see Maier (1973), 125. Cf. also Castelliiabaritanus, *castellum* Medianum, *castellum* Minoritanum, and *castellum* Tingitanum, all in Mauretania Caesariensis: Maier (1973), 125–27.

52. Gennad. *Vir. ill.* 97. Gennadius does not identify Cerealis’s see, but Cerealis’s surviving treatise does: Cerealis episcopus Castelli Ripensis, *Libellus contra Maximum*

53. *Gesta apud Zenophilum* 8, ed. Maier (1987–89), 1: 225, Purpurius to the “clericis et senioribus Cirtensium”; and 10, p. 227, Fortis to the “fratribus et filiis, clero et senioribus.” Purpurius was the bishop of the otherwise unknown community Limiata. Fortis’s diocese is unnamed. For a statement by a submunicipal bishop on rebaptism under Cyprian, see *Cypr. Sent. episc.* 87 1, CSEL 3: 435, for the bishop of Bilita.

54. Tertullian in the early third century spoke of services of prayer, scriptural reading, and exhortation, typically on Sundays, without mentioning an accompanying eucharist: *Tert. Apol.* 39.1–4 and *Anim.* 9.4; Olivar (1991), 516–17. A fourth-century Donatist sermon on the martyrdom of Donatus of Aviocala still characterized the function of a church with reference only to scriptures and prayers: *Sermo de passione sancti Donati episcopi Abiocalensis* 4 and 6, ed. Maier (1987–89), 1: 201–11.

55. *Optat.* 7.6: “et locutum eum esse aliquid in populo constat, sed insinuandae alicuius rei causa, non tamen tractandi, quod est episcoporum.” Optatus emphasized the traditional greeting of the congregation and invocation of the name of God (*salutatio*) that distinguished bishops’ *tractatus* from other types of speaking. *Ps.-Cypr. Aleat.* 3, CSEL 3.3, pp. 94–95: “tanta et episcopo neglente et nulla de scripturis sanctis documenta promente cumulentur tormenta.” See Olivar (1991), 529–32, for preaching as the particular office of a bishop.

56. *Ps.-Cypr. Aleat.* 3, pp. 94–95.

57. *Fulg. Rusp. S.* 1.4; *Aug. Ps.* 67.12; *Aug. Jb.* 36. Cf. Verecundus, *Commentarii super cantica ecclesiastica*, *In cant. Deut.* 3; and Anon. *Morin* 13.

58. Tyconius, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin* 167, ed. Fr. Lo Bue, *The Turin fragments of Tyconius’ Commentary on Revelations* (Cambridge, 1963), 95: “Flumina et fontes aquarum divinarum doctores insinuat scripturarum, qui alios instruunt et se a via veritatis avertunt.”

59. *Arnob. Iun. In psalm.* 106, *CCSL* 25: 166–67: “Passi siccitatem sermonis, dum nullus docet, nullus exhortatur, aut nullus est cuius exemplo perfunderentur. Passi siccitatem erraverunt et civitatem habitationis non invenerunt, non invenerunt cuius exemplo spiritualiter viverunt, sed desertum huius mundi passi esurientes et sitiente anima eorum in ipsis defecit.”

60. *Aug. Civ.* 22.8. For this and other examples of Augustine’s pastoral activities in the rural hinterland of Hippo, see Perler (1969) and Ferdi (2005).

61. *Aug. Epist.* 35.4.

62. In *Epist.* 35.4, Augustine discusses a daughter of a *colonus*, who had been a catechumen among the Catholics, then *sanctimonialis* among Donatists. Her father wanted Augustine to receive (*suscipere*) her into the church. This could mean either a reconciliation of a penitent or the blessing of a newly baptized Christian by laying on of hands, both of which were the preserve of a bishop.

63. *Aug. Epist.* 62 and 63.

64. *Aug. Epist.* 18*.1.1 (to the people of Membliba).

65. *Aug. S. Guelf.* 32 (“De ordinatione episcopi”), col. 637: “hodie quippe vobis in dono et misericordia dei episcopus ordinatur; hoc itaque debemus loqui, quo et nos ipsos exhortemur, et ipsum informemus, et vos instruamus.” “In dono et misericordia dei” implies that the community did not already have episcopal status. For an identification with Fussala, see Perler (1969), 409.

66. *Possid. Indic.* 6.40: “item de duabus mulieribus de parvulo descriptantibus contra supra scriptos, Sinitu habitus”; Perler (1969), 409. This sermon was probably preached between 405 and 408 C.E., after Maximinus, the Donatist bishop of Sinita, had gone over to the Catholics, and Augustine and Maximinus were traveling together: see Dolbeau (1991), 298–301; (1995a).

67. Although the sermon is lost, some of its themes might be gleaned from *Aug. Epist.* 105 regarding the *castellum* Sinita. Augustine accused the Donatists of threatening to burn the houses of anyone communicating with Maximinus, the previously Donatist bishop who had

gone over to the Catholics. In contrast, when Maximinus had been Donatist, the Catholics had wanted only to preach in the *castellum*. The point is that the Donatists were willing to inflict violence; the Catholics were not.

68. See Aug. *S. Lambot* 4 (“Sermo habitus Tuneba de patientia et de lectione evangelii de villico”), p. 765, for a reference to Punic.

69. Aug. *S. Lambot* 4, p. 761.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 763.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 767.

72. Aug. *Epist.* 13* (to the priest Restitutus) and *Epist.* 18* (to the *ecclesia Memblibanum*).

73. Aug. *Epist.* 18*.3.

74. Aug. *Catech. rud.* 15.23.

75. Aug. *Epist.* 108.5.

76. *Ibid.* 20*.21. The primate persuaded them to come back with a promise not to impose a bishop against their will. He was speaking to them in the context of a religious ceremony: *Epist.* 20*.22, “Cum igitur de ecclesia post divina peracta . . .”

77. Aug. *Epist.* 64 to the priest Quintianus regarding communicating with the primate Aurelius (of Macomades).

78. Aug. *Epist.* 64.4.

79. *Ibid.*, 64.2.

80. *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 9 (Conc. Carthag., 345–48 C.E.).

81. Aug. *Epist.* 105.2. See Hermanowicz (2008), 113–14, for this episode.

82. Possid. *Vita Aug.* 12.4.

83. *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 225–26 (Conc. Carthag., 418 C.E.).

84. Aug. *Epist.* 28*.3 (to Novatius). He may have been writing to Novatus of Sitifis. Augustine implies in *Epist.* 28*.1 that Novatius had a large diocese, containing many parishes as well as men of the *ordo* reluctant to convert.

85. Aug. *Epist.* 28*.2.

86. Both letters are edited and analyzed by Lepelley (1989). They travel together in the manuscripts under Severus’s name.

87. The references in Ps.-Sulpic. Sev. *Epist.* 4 to preaching (“in tuis praeceptionibus” and “piis hortationibus”) and to the sanctity of his life (“tanta morum sanctitate”) strongly imply that he was a cleric. The author also respectfully calls him “domine,” which would better suit a bishop than a rural priest. Matar had a Catholic bishop, Cultasius, in 411, who claimed to have recently achieved religious unity: *Gesta* 1.133, p. 766: “‘plebis Mataritanae . . . unitas est.’ Habetdeum diaconus dixit: ‘Habuiamus Rusticianum; modo exivit de corpore.’” Cultasius may have been the recipient of the letter.

88. Ps.-Sulp. Sev. *Epist.* 4, p. 252: “Hoc ipsum nos in tuis praeceptionibus admiramur, quod nullis minis, nullis omnino terroribus, ad cultum Dei vaesanos animos convertisti, ut confusa mens illud crederet esse rectissimum cum omnibus bene beateque vivere, quam cum paucis iniusta sentire.”

89. Ps.-Sulp. Sev. *Epist.* 4, p. 252: “Ceterum non ita mirabile videretur, si eruditos animos infusa sapientia confirmasses. Est enim prudentibus viris cum devotione cognatio, nec est cito conveniens credulitati rusticitas.” Cf. Aug. *S. Dolbeau* 27.2, p. 304: “et in Hipponiensi regione nunc converti coeperunt plebes, a quibus tanto tardius tenetur unitas quanto difficilior intellegit rusticitas.”

90. Aug. *Epist.* 139 (PCBE 1: “Donatus 53”) for Donatus, who had been a *colonus* of a church estate, then a Catholic deacon, then a Donatist priest; 35.2 for a Donatist subdeacon who had been *colonus*. Imperial edicts assumed that the rural clergy would be recruited from

the *coloni*, which led to the requirements that they remain on the estates from which they had their *origo* and that the landlord give his permission before ordination: see *CTh* 16.2.33 (398) and *Novell. Iust.* app. 9 (558, sent to North Africa); discussed by Bowes (2002), 244; Banaji (2002), 211.

91. In addition to the letter to Membliba (*Aug. Epist.* 18*), see *Epist.* 66, in which Augustine wanted to have a letter translated into Punic to be read aloud to the tenants of the *fundus* Mappaliensis, explaining that they did not need to convert to the religion of their landlord (who was the Donatist bishop of Calama); discussed by Lepelley (1994), 275. For Augustine's efforts to find Punic-speaking clergy for his diocese, see Clark (2001), 268.

92. In *Aug. Epist.* 20*.13, a priest arrived from *castellum* Fussalense with "litterae presbyterorum et Fussalensium." *Epist.* 20*.22 mentions another *libellus* from Fussala, without the priests specifically identified as the authors.

93. *Tab. Albertini* 20, 40b.

94. *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 191 (Conc. Carthag., 397 C.E.); discussed below, [chapter 4](#).

95. *Aug. Epist.* 63.4.

96. None of these places have been located on the ground. Turre was likely the same place as the diocese Turrensis. It is unclear whether Subsana was a village or estate: it had a Punic name, and it was sufficiently important for Augustine to travel there personally in the company of the primate Alypius and the neighboring bishop of Turrensis; see *Aug. Epist.* 62.

97. *Aug. Epist.* 64.3.

98. For example, both Duchesne (1920), 181, and Klingshirn (1994), 227, question the right of priests to preach. In the most complete discussion of the issue, Olivar (1991), 532–48, concludes that priests generally had the right to preach with their bishop's permission; deacons could instruct catechumens and sometimes read out sermons, but not compose sermons themselves; and lectors could only read out the scriptures. Olivar's one exception, however, is North Africa, where he believes priests did not preach before Augustine's time. His evidence is Possid. *Vita Aug.* 5.3, which describes it as an innovation for Augustine, when still a priest, to preach in his bishop's presence: "[Valerius episcopus] eidem presbytero potestatem dedit se coram in ecclesia evangelium praedicandi ac frequentissime tractandi, contra usum quidem et consuetudinem Africanarum ecclesiarum." I think the innovation was for Augustine to preach while the bishop was present, not for a priest to preach at all.

99. *Aug. Epist.* 13*.3 (to Restitutus); cf. *Epist.* 18*.3 (to the ecclesia of Membliba).

100. *Aug. Epist.* 64.2–3.

101. *Ibid.* 43.2.3; Possid. *Indic.* 6.29.

102. *Aug. Epist.* 23.6–8.

103. *Ibid.* 105.2.

104. Ferrand. *Vita Fulg.* 6, p. 35. See Modéran (2003a), 28–29.

105. Ferrand. *Canon.* 96.

106. *Concilia Galliae*, CCSL 148: 12 (Conc. Arel. 314): "de diaconibus quos cognovimus multis locis offerre, placuit minime fieri debere." Cf. Ferrand. *Canon.* 107: "Ut diaconus panem non erogat nec calicem benedicat."

107. *Aug. Epist.* 236.1 to the primate of Mauretania Caesariensis: "has cum illis intolerabiles blasphemias subdiaconus iste quasi catholicus non solum credebat, sed, quibus viribus poterat, et docebat." Malliana = Khemis Miliana, Algeria.

108. *Aug. Epist.* 13*.2 refers to the deacon traveling to the community (presumed from *Epist.* 18* to be Membliba) "propter officii sui necessitatem." This may also have been more mundane business, since deacons sometimes administered church property.

109. *Aug. Epist.* 35.2.

110. *Ibid.* 26*. Lepelley (1994), 298, locates Suppa (which was possibly originally a tribe)

near Thagaste.

111. *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 43, regarding the “inopia clericorum ordinandorum in Africa”; *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 200–201 (Conc. Carthag., 401 C.E.), for permission to receive Donatist clerics because of the demand. The Catholic church of Africa got special permission from the bishop of Rome to receive the schismatics without making them lose their offices.

112. Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Sermones viii*, ed. J. Fraipont, CCSL 91A: 889–942 (Turnhout, 1968); Quodvultdeus, *Sermones 1–13*, ed. R. Braun, CCSL 60: 492–508 (Turnhout, 1976); and Optatus of Milev, *Tractatus in natali infantorum*, PLS 1: 288–95. There are also two sermons attested for Eraclianus, Augustine’s successor at Hippo, which have been edited by Verbraken (1961), 9–21.

113. [Aug.] S. 360, now attributed to Maximinus of the *castellum* Siniti, was probably preached at a neighboring city rather than at Siniti itself: see Dolbeau (1991).

114. This scholarship is summarized in Machielsen (1990) and (1994); Dekkers (1995); Geerard (1974–); Geerard et al. (1998); and especially Gryson (2007) and Frede (1995), with the supplements by Gryson (1999) and (2004). F. Leroy (2004) makes some important North African additions to Dekkers.

115. Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 79, ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, *Gli Uomini illustri* (Florence, 1988) (Arnobius); 80 (Lactantius); 93 (Donatus); 97 (Fortunatianus); 101 (Victorinus); and 110 (Optatus).

116. Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 97: “Fortunatianus, natione Afer, Aquileiensis episcopus, imperante Constantio In Evangelia titulis ordinatis brevi sermone rusticoque scriptis commentarios.”

117. Gennad. *Vir. ill.* 4.

118. Gennad. *Vir. ill.* 5. A saint’s life by Macrobius, the *Passio Isaaci et Maximiani*, survives, ed. Maier (1987–89), 1: 259–75 (BHL 4473). It is also possible that a Pseudo-Cyprianic treatise on chastity, *De singularitate clericorum*, is by him: see Harnack (1903) and Tilley (1997a), 82; however, this attribution has by no means been universally accepted: see Gryson (1999), 68, and Heid (2001), 208. This text’s scriptural citations, especially those of Paul, would put it after the middle of the fourth century: see Gryson (2007), 438.

119. Gennad. *Vir. ill.* 74.

120. Ibid. 78. His only surviving work is *De paenitentia*, PL 17: 971–1004.

121. Gennad. *Vir. ill.* 79. He was writing before Musaeus, who died under Leo and Majorian.

122. Gennad. *Vir. ill.* 96. His only surviving work is *Epistula ad Arcadium* (ca. 437 C.E.), PL 50: 567–70, used by Ps.-Aug. *Sermo* 245.1–2: see Barré (1957), 27.

123. Gennad. *Vir. ill.* 97; Cerealis (d. 480), *Contra Maximinum Arianum libellus*, PL 58: 757–68.

124. Gennad. *Vir. ill.* 98. His *Libellus fidei* was transmitted by Vict. Vit. 2.41–42.

125. Gennad. *Vir. ill.* 99: “Pomerius, natione Maurus, in Gallia presbyter ordinatus,” followed by a long list of works about the soul, resurrection, and Arians.

126. See Graham (2005), chap. 5, for the transmission of North African texts to Europe, especially to Italy during the Vandal period.

127. Ps.-Aug. *Coll. c. Pasc.*, PL 33: 1160: “Non enim in Africa, aut in cuncta Barbaria”; and PL 33: 1162 for the Vandal speech: “Si enim licet dicere, non solum barbaris lingua sua, sed etiam romanis, ‘sihora armen,’ quod interpretatur, domine miserere” (the manuscripts vary: see Tiefenbach (1991), 251–68, and Smolak et al. (2006) for recent bibliography). Other sermons that contain obviously North African contextual clues include the anti-Donatist Ps.-Aug. S. Cai. II, 38, PLS 2: 1048–52, and Anon. *S. Dol.* 2, ed. Dolbeau (2003b), 244–50. References to the *lampadum dies*, a raucous solstice festival of lamps associated with the

nativity of John (and before this, the agricultural goddess Ceres), may also indicate a North African origin: for example, Anon. *S. Le.* 6, ed. Leclercq (1948), 64–67, and Anon. *S. Et.* 36, ed. Dolbeau and Étaix (2003), 256–58. Adams (2007), 567–68, discusses the African connections of this June festival.

128. The new multivolume Beuron edition of the Old Latin Bible is *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel* (Freiburg, 1949–), now in database form: *Vetus Latina Institut, Vetus Latina database: Bible versions of the Latin Fathers* (Turnhout, 2002–), <http://www.brepolis.net/apps/vld/index.html>. By “African,” I am not referring to the *Afra* Latin Bible of Cyprian, which is used as a technical term without necessarily having regional connotations, but rather to affinities with known North African authors of the fourth and fifth centuries. The Beuron edition distinguishes between the oldest African translation (K = Cyprian), the fourth-century North African (©), the older European (D), and the more recent Italian (I, M, A). For an overview of the *Vetus Latina*, see P.–M. Bogaert (1988).

129. The main other editions of the Old Latin Bible are P. Sabatier, ed., *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976; first published, 1743); A. Jülicher, ed., *Itala: Das Neue Testament in Altlateinischer Überlieferung*, 4 vols. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1938–63); and, for the North African Psalter, P. Capelle, *Le texte du psautier latin en Afrique* (Rome: F. Pustet, 1913). The electronic databases of patristic texts are the *Library of Latin Texts: CLCLT*, Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995–) <http://www.brepolis.net/>; and the *Patrologia Latina Database* (Alexandria, VA: Chadwick-Healy Inc., 1996–), <http://pld.chadwyck.com/>.

130. See Dossey (2003) and Anon. *Jb* in the bibliography.

131. The new manuscript is Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS lat. 4147, dated 1435. Twenty-eight of the sermons had been previously known from the fourteenth-century manuscript El Escorial, Real Monasterio de El Escorial, MS R.III.5, described in *PLS* 4: 652. Most of them appear to have been authored by the same Donatist bishop writing after the Council of 411 and before the Vandal conquest of 429: see F. Leroy (1994) and (1997) and J. S. Alexander (2001). F. Leroy (1999) contains a provisional edition of the twenty-two previously unedited sermons. Following Gryson (2007) and Frede (1995), I cite these sermons as Anon. *H. Esc.*

132. See Rouse and McNelis (2000), 211–33. In addition to a Donatist recension of the *Liber generationis*, this collection contains the *Liber genealogus*, *Prophetiae ex omnibus libris collectae*, *Virtutes Heliae et Helisaei*, *Inventiones nominum*, *Indiculum veteris et novi testamenti*, an unpublished *Nomina locorum et interpretatio nominum de hebreo in latinum*, and four unpublished lists of interpretations of Hebrew names.

133. See Grégoire (1980), 245, for the manuscripts. Many of these sermons are believed to have been written by an anonymous African in the first half of the fifth century, and the collection made in fifth-century Campania: see J.–P. Bouhot, *PLS* 4: 651–52; Saxer (1970), 24; F. Leroy (2004), 427. A new edition is being prepared for the *CCSL* by F.J. Leroy and A. Tshiji. They are cited as Anon. *H. Arm.*

134. Anon. *H. Arm.* 15, *PLS* 2: 1141–43, refers to an invasion actively taking place: see F. Leroy (2004), 427; Isola (1990), 14. The author does not appear to have used Augustine.

135. For this collection, see Wenk (1988), esp. 29–32, and Ps.-Chrysostom, *S. Wilmart* in the bibliography. Wenk dates the final collection, which includes a number of sermons translated from the Greek as well as sermons derived from Augustine and Jerome, to the mid-fifth century. Other than this collection, the earliest known homilies arranged in liturgical order are Pseudo-Fulgentius (see below) and Caesarius of Arles: Dolbeau (2003a). Sermons 6, 8, 27, 32, and 33 are now thought to be from the Carthage region, late fourth or early fifth century: see F. Leroy (2004), 426 and 430; Bouhot (1992). One of the more interesting is *Sermo* 17 (*De solstitiis et aequinoctiis*), which discusses the seasons of the year and helps illuminate the many late antique calendar mosaics. For its possible North African origin, see Hays (2004), 106; Talley (1986–1991), 92–93; some scholars consider it a translation from

the Syriac: Botte (1982), 88–105; Wenk (1988), 23.

136. Ps.-Fulgentius of Ruspe, *Sermones* 80, *PL* 65: 855–954; and *PLS* 3: 1363, for their *tituli*. Ps.-Fulg. Rusp. *S.* 56, *PL* 65: 925C, was preached at the *mensa* of Cyprian at Carthage: see Dolbeau and Étaix (2003), 245. The inclusion of sermons on Saints Perpetua and Cyprian also suggests that the diocese was Carthage, as these saints weren't very popular elsewhere in Africa. The author refers to government by barbarians and kings: Ps. Fulg. Rusp. *S.* 64, *PL* 65: 936; *S.* 46, *PL* 65: 912. For his references to rulers as *tyranni*, *imp̄ii*, etc., see Isola (1990), 16–19.

137. Grégoire (1980), 92–110 (see, however, note 134 above). The manuscript has actually been lost but was reproduced in a seventeenth-century edition and reprinted in *PL* 65.

138. Ps.-Fulg. Rusp., *Sermones* 80, Praefatio, *PL* 65: 857: “Et quia magnis dapibus spiritualium rerum, subministratione domini fratris et consacerdotis mei, saepius assuevistis expleri, quibus ausibus, quave fiducia poteritis oblectare, non potest comprehendī”; col. 855: “Exhortamur caritatem vestram, dilectissimi fratres, ut impigre et vigilanter verbum Dei ministrantibus fratribus et compresbyteris, vos audire non pigeat” (derived from the postscript of Aug. *S.* 20, *CCSL* 41: 261: “Exhortamur charitatem vestram, ut impigre et vigilanter verba Dei ministrantibus presbyteris vos audire non pigeat”); col. 857: “Terret meam parvulam rudemque facultatem sanctorum Patrum antiqua doctrina, et vestra, fratres, intentio luminosa.”

139. Detailed and extended agricultural metaphors appear in Ps.-Fulg. Rusp. *S.* 46 and 1, and briefer ones intermittently. This author's use of metaphors and assumptions about his audience differ sharply from the sermons of Augustine and Quodvultdeus discussed earlier in this chapter.

140. The see of Carthage was vacant from 456 to 481 and 505 to 523, and its bishop in exile from 439 to 454 and 496 to 505. I would probably place the collection in one of these periods of exile due to implications by the author that his audience's bishop was still living (or only recently dead). Ps.-Fulg. Rusp. *S.* 78, *PL* 65: 950–51, is on the death of a bishop.

141. See Ps.-Aug. *S. Dol.* These come from Olomouc, Státní vědecká knihovna, M II 205. They may be by the same author as Ps.-Fulg. *S. Lem.*, possibly Fulgentius himself: see Dolbeau (2001), 393–98; (2002).

142. See Ps.-Fulg. *S. Lem.* These are in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS lat. 1014. Lemarié (1972), (1993), and (1994) proposes that they are by a North African contemporary of the real Fulgentius of Ruspe, who was influenced by him, possibly the same author as Anon. *H. Vind.* 20.

143. Anon., *Sermones 30 collectionis Morin dictae*, *PLS* 4: 653 ff., and 741–834 (also known as Pseudo-Chrysostom and Ioannes Neapolitanus). There is some debate about whether this sermon collection comes from Vandal North Africa or sixth-century southern Italy (perhaps from a North African bishop who had fled to southern Italy): see Leroy (2004), 426; Westra (2002), 339–42. The author's citations of Cyprian are in a form so close to that of the *Rule of the Master* that one scholar has concluded the two authors came from the same intellectual milieu (early sixth century Italy): Vogüé (1979), (1981). Their version of the Creed is not exactly matched by any other text, although it has features that point to North Africa or (strangely enough) to the Latin Balkans: Westra (2002), 339–42. There are no southern Italian versions of the Creed to compare. The author's debt to Augustine is apparent in almost every sermon.

144. Grégoire (1980), 245–61. The original core of the collection is thought to have been North African: it includes the fifteen sermons of the *Collectio Armamentaria*, forty-five sermons of Augustine (or derived from Augustine), and twenty-seven Pseudo-Augustinian sermons.

145. Grégoire (1980), 393–422, makes this argument.

146. For an analysis of the content of this homiliary, see Grégoire (1980), 400–422. For the

North African component (not by Augustine), see (in the bibliography) Ps.-Aug. *S. Guelf.*; Pseudo-Optatus, *Sermo in natali sanctorum innocentium*; Anon. *S. Le.* 1; Ps.-Aug. *S. Bar.*; Ps.-Aug. *S.* 114, 117, ;121.4; Barré (1957), 24 and 30; (1963), 83 and n. 243; and Morin (1910), 470–71. The Pseudo-Augustinian sermons of uncertain provenance are Ps.-Aug. *S.* 138, 144, and 213.

147. See Lambot (1958); Grégoire (1966), 132–41; Grégoire (1980), 280–91; and Anon. *H. Vind.* in the bibliography. Westra (2002), 441–47, has analyzed the version of the Creed in Anon. *H. Vind.* 20, *PLS* 3: 1370–76, and considers it fifth-century North African. Its anti-Arianism makes it likely to be from the Vandal period: see Isola (1990), 14.

148. Eight by Caesarius, eight by Leo, four by Maximus of Turin, one by Jerome, and about six others of uncertain provenance: see Grégoire (1980), 264–80. There is also an earlier Fleury manuscript containing an almost purely North African collection (cited as Anon. *S. Le.* in the bibliography) that is thought to have been copied directly from a North African manuscript: see Leclercq (1948) and Graham (2005), 194–96, who discusses evidence that the monks of Fleury obtained the manuscript from Monte Cassino.

149. These are listed in the bibliography under Pseudo-Augustine, *S. Cai.* Dekkers 1995, nos. 371 and 372B; Morin (1930), 1: 722–68; Leclercq (1947); and Scalon (1975) discuss the North African component.

150. Machielsen (1990); Dekkers (1995); Gryson (2007); Frede (1995), with supplements by Gryson (1999) and (2004), especially under Pseudo-Augustine, Pseudo-Chrysostom, Pseudo-Cyprian, Pseudo-Fulgentius, and (in Gryson / Frede) Anonymous.

151. Ps.-Cyprian, *Quod idola dii non sint*, *CSEL* 3.1: 19–31; *De rebaptismate*, *CSEL* 3.3: 69–92; and *Ad Novatianum*, *CCSL* 4: 137–52 and 380.

152. Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai.* I, 11 and 14 (both *In natali domini*), *PLS* 2: 929–31 and 935–36, have been dated to the sixth or seventh century. The *Antiphonale Sinaiticum*, a Latin antiphon from Sinai, Gr. Ms. 567, likely comes from sixth- or seventh-century North Africa: see ANT-S in the bibliography. Some of the Anon. *S. Bar.*, ed. Barré (1963), 54–93, may have been from sixth-century Africa (based on the Marian cult), although they seem to me compatible with the Vandal period.

153. Probable Donatist texts, in addition to the Anon. *H. Esc.* and the Donatist Compendium discussed above, include Pseudo-Jerome, *Ep. Mor.*; Ps.-Cyprian, *Epistula ad plebem Carthaginensem*, *CCSL* 3C: 641–43; Ps.-Cyprian, *De singularitate clericorum*, *CSEL* 3.3: 173–220; and Pseudo-Optatus, *Sermo in natali sanctorum innocentium*, *PLS* 1: 288–95 (for this last text, see Tilley 1997a, 86–89). The Arian texts include Anon. *Jb.*, Anon. *Ver. Jud.*, Anon. *Ver. pag.*, and Anon. *Ver. S.* (the North African provenance of these Arian texts is less certain). There are even some Manichaean fragments from Theveste: see Anon. *Mani* in the bibliography.

154. Ps.-Aug. *Sobr.*, *PL* 40: 1105–12. This anonymous treatise has been only vaguely dated, but its borrowings from Ambrose's *De Helia et ieiunio* (387–390 C.E.) and Jerome's *Libellus de virginitate* (384 C.E.), and its silence about the *monasterium* may point to date between 390 C.E. and the early fifth century: see Adkin (1993) for Jerome. There is little reason to consider it North African other than its attribution to Augustine, although its style and theme do have some parallels with Ps. Aug. *S. Cai.* II, 79. It ends with the doxology, suggesting that it was meant to be read in church (1112).

155. Ps.-Aug. *Sobr.*, *PL* 40: 1108–9. Its description of Herod's palace, with its walls, *triclinium*, garden, vases, drunken banquets, and dancing girls, may be a criticism of contemporary mansions.

156. Ps.-Aug. *Sobr.*, *PL* 40: 1110.

157. Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai.* II, 1 = Ps.-Aug. *S. Mai* 71 (“De lapsu”), *PLS* 2: 1029–31.

158. *Ibid.*, 1031: “vobis lanas oves impertiunt, vobis caprae, boves et caetera pecora ad victum, aut laeti tribuunt, aut laborem. Non serviunt vobis ista, sed praestant, aut si imputatis

hoc illis, quod eas pascitis, custoditis, quod ab iisdem abigitis bestias, quod iis pabula vel stabula providetis.” His point is that their animals obey them at God’s will, not because they feed and guard them.

159. Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai.* II, 1 = Ps.-Aug. *S. Mai* 71 (“De lapsu”), *PLS* 2: 1031: “dederat aquam de saxis sponte salientem, ubicumque sitiistis, ne humorem terrae quaerentes, fontes foderetis, aut puteos; dederat terram lacte ac melle fluentem, ut nec favos apum, nec ubera pecudum premeretis; dederat botros ultro nascentes, quorum unum homines duo vix cum traverso humeris sustinerent.”

160. Ps.-Aug. *S. Guelf.* 3 (“De dominica oratione”), *PLS* 2: 1342–44.

161. Ps.-Aug. *S. Guelf.* 3.3.

162. Aug. *Epist.* 34.9.

163. Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus* 11, *PL* 83: 1089.

164. Cereal. 7, *PL* 58: 761.

165. Ferrand. *Vita Fulg.* 6 and 14.

166. The eloquent *Passio Marculi* (*BHL* 5271), considered by Monceaux to be a classic of Christian hagiography, was written about a village saint, possibly by the clergy of the *castellum* Nova Petra itself, where Marculus was martyred: Monceaux (1901–1923), 5: 80; Maier (1987–89), 1: 276. The sermon now attributed to Maximinus of the *castellum* Siniti ([Aug.] *S.* 360), although simple in grammar and replete with scriptural references, is an eloquent composition.

167. Ps.-Aug. *Felician.* 2, *PL* 42: 1157–58 (also known as Pseudo-Vigilius of Thapsus). This treatise probably dates from the Vandal period: see Heil (2007).

168. See Verbraken (1962), 7–21, who argues that Augustine edited *Sermo* 214 on the Creed to be used by the priests in his diocese. The sermon contains interpolations and directions on what the priest should say.

169. Ps.-Fulg. Rusp., *Sermones* 80, Praefatio, *PL* 65: 855: “Exhortamur caritatem vestram, dilectissimi fratres, ut impigre et vigilanter verbum Dei ministrantibus fratribus et compresbyteris, vos audire non pigeat.” This passage is partly derived from the postscript to Aug. *S.* 20, *CCSL* 41: 261. Augustine is thought to have similarly prepared *Sermo* 20 to be read out by a priest: see Olivar (1991), 539.

170. *Concilia Galliae*, *CCSL* 148: 78–79 (*Council of Vaison* 2); reference from Grégoire (1980), 397.

171. The homiliary of Ps.-Fulgentius devotes considerable space to sermons for catechumens and neophytes, including sermons on the *traditio symboli* and *traditio orationis*: Ps.-Fulg. Rusp. *S.* 18 (on the *chrisma*); 78 (“ad competentes post traditum symbolum”); 80 (on the transmission of Lord’s Prayer); and 34 (“de sacramento altaris”). Other anonymous North African sermons on the *traditio symboli* include Anon. *Morin* 27 and 29; Anon. *H. Vind.* 20; Anon. *Casp.* 11; and Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai.* I, 32. For the *traditio orationis*, Ps.-Quod. *Sermo de dominica oratione*; Anon. *S. Bou.* 1; Ps.-Aug. *S. Le.* 7; Ps.-Aug. *S. Guelf.* 3; Anon. *Morin* 28; Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai.* I, 34; and Ps.-Aug. *S.* 65 (which uses Cyprian’s *De oratione dom.*). For the *traditio* of Psalm 22 (“the Lord is my shepherd”), see [Aug.] *S. dub.* 366 and Anon. *Morin* 30. Post-baptism explanations of the sacraments include Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai.* I, 34 (“de pascha ad neophytos”); Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai.* I, 35 (“de pascha ad neophytos”); Ps.-Aug. *S.* 172 (“ad neophytos”); and Ps.-Cyprian, *Sermo de centesima, sexagesima, tricesima*, explaining the need for chastity.

172. The Pseudo-Fulgentian collection places sermons on Abraham, Solomon, Joseph, Exodus, Jona, Elisaeus, Elias, and the sons of Zebedaeus in the period between Epiphany and Easter, which was the key time for catechumenical instruction. Some of these sermons, like the one on Elisaeus (*S.* 18), are specifically aimed at explaining sacraments like the *chrisma* through Old Testament examples. Cf. the lost sermonary whose *tituli* survive in a Carolingian inventory at Lorsch: Dolbeau (1997), 273–75. The Donatist Escorial collection (Anon. *H*

Esc.) is thought to be entirely a catechetical collection. The first half of its sermons concentrate on Old Testament themes such as the fall of man. The second half turns to the New Testament and moral instruction. Anon. *Morin*, which may also have been a catechetical collection, concentrates on the psalms and ends with the *traditio* of the *symbolum* and Psalm 22.

173. Scalon (1975) analyzes parallels to Tertullian, Lactantius, and Arnobius in Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai. I*, 26–39. For the use of Cyprian, see also Ps.-Aug. *S.* 65 and 114, Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai. II*, 37; Ps.-Aug. *S. Cas. II*, 158; Anon. *Morin* 4; Ps.-Chrys. *S. Wilmart* 27; and the Arian Anon. *Ver. S.* 10 and 13.

174. Grégroire (1980), 111–25. Anon. *H. Esc.* 29 (*De Esaia*) = Ps.-Fulg. *S.* 76.

175. Isidore of Seville, *De viris illustribus* 27, *PL* 83, 1098: “inter haec composuit multos tractatus quibus sacerdotes in ecclesiis uterentur.” Cf. Ferrand. *Vita Fulg.* Prologus, p. 7, referring to sermons of Fulgentius being read aloud by others after his death.

176. Ferrand. *Vita Fulg.* 27. This was also true for Augustine.

7. REINTERPRETING REBELLION

1. Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 12.7, ed. B. Kytzler, *M. Minuci Felicis Octavius* (Leipzig, 1982) (the pagan interlocutor speaking against the Christians).

2. See Tengström (1964), 135–41; MacMullen (1966), 199, 201, 206, etc.; and for a similar approach to the Bagaudae, Van Dam (1985), 24–56.

3. Guha (1988) analyzes this tendency to portray subaltern “insurgency” as irrational.

4. Whittaker (1994), 278.

5. As with E. P. Thompson (1971) for the original “moral economy” of bread riots in eighteenth-century England; and Natalie Zemon Davis (1973) in her work on religious “rites of violence” in early modern France. Erika Hermanowicz has recently shown how circumcellion attacks on Catholic clergy can be viewed as a controlled, political message rather than spontaneous mob violence: Hermanowicz (2008), esp. 106–7, 113–14, and 135–42.

6. Stock (1987), 90: “What was essential to a textual community was not a written version of a text, although that was sometimes present, but an individual, who, having mastered it, then utilized it for reforming a group’s thought and action.”

7. Stock (1987), 91.

8. In Aug. *Epist.* 35.2, a Donatist deacon (and former Catholic subdeacon) in association with several vowed virgins (*sanctimoniales*) traveled with the circumcellions; in *Epist.* 105.2, Augustine accuses Donatist clerics of always being the leaders of the circumcellions (“circumcellionum vestrorum et clericorum, qui duces eorum semper fuerunt”); and in *Cresc.* 3.48, he describes Donatist clerics and circumcellions together seizing an apostate priest and flogging him at a *castellum*. For the rather extensive scholarship on the meaning—and even the existence—of the circumcellions, see Pottier (2008), Shaw (2004), and Rubin (1995). Pottier (2008), to a greater extent than I, places the circumcellions (defined as a order of agonistic confessors / monks) in competition with the rural clergy (who were in the pocket of the landlords) for local leadership: Pottier (2008), esp. 26 and 33–34.

9. For example, the Catholic *lector* on the estate Vegesela read out noncanonical scriptures to the people in church: Aug. *Epist.* 65. 3.

10. Harris (1989), 285–322; Lane Fox (1994).

11. Optat. 1.4. The editor, M. Labrousse, *Traité contre les donatistes / Optat de Milève* (SC vols. 412–13) (Paris, 1995–1996), 17 n. 2, concludes from the word *tractatus* that the tracts may have taken the form of sermons.

12. Optat. 3.4, *CSEL* 26: 81: “praecones per vicina loca et per omnes nundinas misit, circumcelliones agonisticos nuncupans, ad praedictum locum ut concurrerent invitavit.”

13. Optat. 3.4, *CSEL* 26: 82: “Tunc Taurinus ad eorum litteras ire militem iussit armatum per nundinas, ubi circumcellionum furor vagari consueverat.”

14. *Passio Marculi*, ed. Maier (1987–89), 1: 277–91; *Passio Isaac et Maximiani* 3, ed. Maier (1987–89), 1: 261 (referring to martyrdoms in Numidia); *Concilia Africae*, CCL 149: 3 (Conc. Carthag., 345–348 C.E., thanking Paulus and Macarius); Aug. *In evang. Ioh.* 11.15; Aug. *Petil.* 2.20, pp. 45–46; and *Cresc.* 3.48.

15. *Gesta* 3.258, pp. 1216–18.

16. For the term *circumcelliones*, with its association with rural storehouses (*cellae*), being applied as an insult, see Rubin (1995) and Shaw (2004).

17. For the circumcellions as *agonistici*, see Optat. 3.4: “circumcelliones agonisticos”; Aug. *In psalm.* 132.6: “agonisticos eos vocant”; Rubin (1995); Caner (2002), 230–31; Gaddis (2005), 111; and Pottier (2008), 26–27 and 33. Calls to become *agonistici* are found in

anonymous Donatist sermons. Ps.-Cyprian's *Sermo de centesima, sexagesima, tricesima* enjoins all the baptized to imitate the angels and become *agonistae*. (Although Sellew [2001] would date this text to the first half of the third century, I find a post-Cyprianic date more persuasive due to the treatise's numerous similarities to Cyprian: see Koch [1932], 268–70.) This sermon as well as the Donatist Ps.-Cypr. *Singul. cler.* envision both celibacy and violent death as ways to engage in *agon*. Cf. Possid. *Vita Aug.* 10.1, which describes the circumcellions as a “perverse and violent class of men, walking as if under the declaration of the celibate.” Pottier (2008), 26–27, has plausibly linked the *agonistici* to confessors, who held a high place in North African congregations as attested by Cyprian and the (lost) treatise of the fourth-century Donatist bishop Macrobius *Ad confessores et virgines*. Some supporting evidence for Pottier's argument can be found in the late Donatist sermon Anon. *H. Esc.* 58, ed. Leroy (1999), 219, which includes confessors high in the hierarchy of holiness, though separate from martyrs: “hanc patriarchae norunt, prophetae sciunt, apostoli tenent, amplexantur martyres, possident confessores; hac christiani vigent, sancti pollent, iusti in ecclesia florent.”

18. The *nundinae* founded at a *vicus* by Phosphorianus were located at a temple: *AE* (1913), 226, discussed above in [chapter 4](#). Annual *nundinae* were founded at Hassawan, 60 km from Sitifis, in the third century, at the “command” of Jupiter, Juba, the *genius* of the place, and the god Ingirozoglezim, probably a local cult: *CIL* 8.20627; Shaw (1981b), 51–53; De Ligt (1993a), 62–63. Tert. *Apol.* 42.7 connects the sale of goods to pagan festivals and assumes that Christians would not attend them: De Ligt (1993a), 63.

19. Aug. *Epist.* 185.3.12; *Gaud.* 1.38.51; and *Parm.* 1.10.16; and the discussion in Gaddis (2005), 111 ff.

20. See Shaw (1981b), 71 n. 5, for the memorial to the saints found at Aïn Meshira (the site of a *nundina* founded by a second-century senator's wife), and for a market built by a Quodvultdeus at a martyr's shrine; Shaw (1981b), 53, for the Christian basilica at the site of the Hassawana *nundina* inscription. See De Ligt (1993a), 61, 62, 69, 73, and 74, for a similar phenomenon in other parts of the empire.

21. See Banaji (2002) for how this was connected to the monetization of the countryside.

22. Mørch (1995), 46. This ever-present fear of drought is evidenced in North African treatises and sermons: for example, Arnob. *Nat.* 1.3.8; Aug. *In psalm. 120, enarr.* 15; Anon. *H. Esc.* 39; Ps.-Cypr. *Singul. cler.* 20 and 26; Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai.* I, 66.3; Anon. *Hel.*, pp. 152 and 156; Ps.-Fulg. *Rusp. S.* 12 (“De Joseph”), col. 874; Anon. *H. Vind.* 5A, *PLS* 4: 1911.

23. For the shift to olive farming in central Byzacena, see Hitchner (1988). Barley, a far safer grain than wheat in a semiarid climate and the traditional mainstay of the North African diet, was scorned by Romanized North Africans. Although more palaeobotanical studies are needed before determining whether barley was actually marginalized in favor of wheat in the diets of ordinary people, it is worth noting that Libyan Valleys Survey found significant evidence for Roman-period wheat farming, in extremely arid conditions: Vand der Veen, Grant, and Barker (1996), 243–44 and 238. For the traditional crop diversification, see Garnsey (1988), 49–53.

24. Durliat (1981).

25. Garnsey (1988), 261 n. 29. The Pseudo-Pauline *Sententiae* had to forbid citizens from compelling decurions to sell grain at lower prices than the market: (Pseudo-) Julius Paulus, *Libri quinque sententiarum*, 1.5.1, p. 127.

26. For Roman laws on debt slavery, see Noordraven (1999), 112–14; Schumacher (2001), 30–34; Giliberti (1999), 120. For Roman debt collection in general, see Giuffrè (1999).

27. For imperial prohibitions of such seizures at *nundinae*, see *CJ* 4.60.1 (ca. 370 C.E.) and *Novell. Iust.* 52.1 (537 C.E.); discussed by De Ligt (1993a), 79–80 and 246. This seizure of crops was a logical extension of the common practice of *coloni* paying back monetary loans in kind: see Krause (1987), 297–98; Aug. *In psalm. 36, serm.* 3.6.

28. *CTh* 11.27.2 (322 C.E.) for Constantine's rescript; Aug. *Epist.* 24*.1, 10*.6, and the discussion by Lepelley (1983) for the sale of *coloni* in the region of Hippo; Vict. Vit. 3.58: "Cupiebant singuli libertatem suam filiorumque suorum perpetuae servituti redigere"; Krause (1987), 109 and 298, for the empire as a whole.

29. The most vivid example of this is Cassiodorus's description of the *nundinae* at Marcelliana in Lucania (Italy) in the sixth century, where children of both sexes were sold into slavery by their parents: Cassiod. *Var.* 8.33; De Ligt (1993a), 61. For references to the sale of slaves at Eastern rural markets, see De Ligt (1993a), 249.

30. Aug. *In psalm.* 39.28. Krause (1987), 249–67, interprets this example as well as similar criticisms by Salvian of Marseilles as evidence that small farmers were giving ownership of their land to patrons but retaining the usufruct of it.

31. Aug. *Epist.* 10*.8: "apud quos quidam eorum commendati tunc remanserunt—non enim sufficit ecclesia cunctos quos liberat pascere. . . ." The *coloni* were going to be returned to their original families and estates once their families or *sacerdotes* had confirmed their identity.

32. *Sirm.* 5 (May 18, 419), Hon. / Theod. to Proiectus *consularis* (province not known, possibly Gaul: *PLRE* II, p. 925). See Krause (1987), 109–10 and 179, for the expectation that landlords have the obligation to assist their *coloni* in times of famine.

33. De Ligt (1993a), 79–80 and 246; Lepelley (1983); Krause (1987), 88 ff. and 267.

34. *Optat.* 3.4.

35. Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai.* I, 13, *PLS* 2: 931–34 ("in natali domini"): "arbiter saeculorum, liberator omnium ad se confugientium, decus integritatis, corona virginitatis, auxilium castitatis, . . . adiutor in bono opere laborantium, dux sanctorum . . ."

36. *Optat.* 3.4, "quorum dementia paulo ante ab ipsis episcopis inpie videbatur esse succensa." Seeck (1897–1920), 3: 338, suggests that Axido and Fasir had a clerical position, based on Augustine's evidence for circumcellion leadership, but Optatus is not explicit. Rubin (1995), 163, strongly denies any formal clerical office. Pottier's (2008), 33, suggestion that they were *confessores* is intriguing, though, as he notes, unprovable.

37. Aug. *Epist.* 185.4 (ca. 416–17 C.E.).

38. For the differences between Christian charity to the poor and euergetism by the rich to the citizen body, the classic work is Veyne (1990). Peter Brown's important study, *Poverty and Leadership* (2002), emphasizes more than Veyne the continuities between civic munificence and Christian charity: "In practice, Christian poor relief, although officially directed to the destitute, never focused on that class alone. It never neglected the 'middling,' 'weaker' classes who had once made up the mass of fellow citizens in ancient towns. In many late antique cities, the new 'care of the poor' tended to merge, in a hybrid manner characteristic of so much of late antiquity, with the maintenance, in a new form, of ancient safeguards that protected the city's inhabitants, both individually and as a whole, against oppression and impoverishment" (79). I would agree with Brown that for the urban "middling" classes, Christian charity (and preaching on charity) was not a radical departure. The rural poor were a different story.

39. Fulg. *Rusp. S.* 7 ("De eleemosyna"), *CCSL* 91A: 931–32.

40. Ps.-Aug. *S.* 86, *PL* 38: 1912–13 (from Aug. *S.* 239).

41. Ps.-Aug. *S.* 86.4, *PL* 38: 1913.

42. *Ibid.*

43. Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai.* II, 48, *PLS* 2: 1070: "Videte, inquam, ipsi videte, o dilectissimi, quale sit jejunium illud, ubi esurit et caeditur, ubi jejunatur et cruor funditur, ubi venter vacuus est pane et manus plena sanguine; et ideo rectissime Dei sermo sequitur, et dicit: 'Ut quid mihi jejunatis?' [Isaiah 58.5]."

44. Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai.* II, 48, *PLS* 2: 1071: "utique ut emptio violentia extorta, et cautio male

conscripta rumpatur.” Cf. Cyprian *Quir.* 3.1, quoting from Isa. 58.1–9: “sed solve omnem nodum iniustitiae, resolve suffocationes inpotentium commerciorum, dimitte quassatos in reuiem et omnem consignationem iniustam dissipa.”

45. Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai*, II, 48, *PLS* 2: 1071: “delendae ergo sunt omnes litterae, quae salutem hominis impugnant.”

46. Ps.-Aug. *S. Cai*, II, 48, *PLS* 2: 1071.

47. This story from 4 Kings 4.1–7 is found in Ps.-Fulg. *Rusp. S.* 18; Ps.-Aug. *Fu.* 20; a lost North African homiliary whose *tituli* have been edited in Dolbeau (1997), 274; and the Donatist Anon. *Hel.* This last was part of a Donatist reference collection, probably for the use of the clergy, studied by Rouse and McNelis (2000), 213–14.

48. Ps.-Fulg. *Rusp. S.* 18, *PL* 65: 882–83. The point of the sermon was to celebrate the mystery of oil (the *chrisma*), which would follow baptism after Easter time, for neophytes.

49. Anon. *H. Esc.* 40 (“De Zachaeo”), *PLS* 4: 711 (Luke 19.1–10).

50. Ibid.: “Substantiam suam in duas dividit partes, separat ab extraneo proprium, dividit a fraudibus suum. Discernit a bonis suis, quod fuerat alienum. Pars proficit in misericordiam, pars impenditur in rapinam redimendam. Tribuit pauperibus proprium, et fraudibus tribuit alienum.”

51. Anon. *H. Esc.* 40 (“De Zachaeo”), *PLS* 4: 711.

52. Ps.-Aug., *S. Cai*, I, 46, *PLS* 2: 1003–4. For the relationship between this sermon and Anon. *H. Esc.* 40, see F. Leroy (1993). This sermon refers to Africa when describing the sycamore tree Zacchaeus climbed on (“sycomorus genus est pomorum non ita in Africa notum. Sycomorus enim ficus fauae sunt,” derived from Aug. *S.* 174.3–5: “syco-morum, in regionibus nostris aut omnino nusquam, aut raro forte alicubi nascitur. . . . quantum tamen indicant interpretatione nominis, sycomora fici fatuae latine interpre-tantur”).

53. Ps.-Aug. *Sermo de misericordia* 5, ed. Verbraken (1970), 57: “Qui confert non habenti, nihil amittit, sed naturae communi acquirit. Merito iustus dicitur: rem enim reprae-sentavit alienam.”

54. Aug. *S.* 113.3.

55. Ibid.

56. Anon. *H. Esc.* 54 (“Item de misericordia”), *PLS* 4: 841: “Caeterum non potest ille misericordiam facere, qui possessionibus longe lateque diffusis, in confinio alium possidere non patitur, dum terminos iungit, fines producit, calumniatur pauperi, mediocre premit, vicinum excludit, et omnes circuncirca positos infestando ac persequendo depellit, qui non acquirit nisi alius flevit: lucra non condit nisi alius gemuerit, cui soli bonum est quod publicum malum est, dum aut fructus servat, aut annonam captat, aut inflat precia, aut foenus exaggerat.” Such complaints about rich landlords expanding their estates at the expense of smallholders are common in Latin sermons: see references in Krause (1987), 296.

57. Anon. *H. Esc.* 54 (“Item de misericordia”), *PLS* 4: 841: “Qui etsi pauperi tribuat, hoc magis deterior, si alii tollit quod alii pertineat, et esurientis pane esurientem pascat, et nudum spoliis vestiati alienis.”

58. Anon. *H. Esc.* 54 (“Item de misericordia”), *PLS* 4: 841: “Qui offert sacrificium ex substantia pauperis, sic est quasi qui victimet filium in conspectu patris sui” (Eccles. 34.24).

59. Aug. *S.* 164A.1.

60. Anon. *Jb.*, *PG* 17: 384–85: “hoc erat quod ab eis thesaurus reputabatur, area et torcular, oliveta et ficeta, et universa opera quae sunt in agro, quae cum labore atque sudore atque manuum callositatibus acquiruntur cum iustitia.” This was an Arian text preached during Easter week. For the North African provenance of this text, see Dossey (2003) and Frede (1995), 146, although the editor of the new critical edition proposes northern Italy: Steinhauser (2005).

61. Anon. *Jb.*, *PG* 17: 386.

62. Ibid.: “Tales ergo divitias habuit laudabilis ille Iob castas, mundas, incoinquinatas, incontaminatas.”

63. *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 352 (Conc. Carthag. Quartum 94; also known as *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua Gennadii Massiliensis*): “Eorum qui pauperes opprimunt dona a sacerdotibus refutanda.” This canon was probably derived from *Const. Apost.* 4.6, ed. Funk, 1: 225–27; and *Const. Cap.* 28–30, ed. Funk, 2: 142–43; see Patlagean (1977), 274; Munier (1960), 142. For the attribution of the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua Gennadii Massiliensis* to late fifth-century southern Gaul, see Munier (1960), 209–42.

64. Optat. 3.3. Optatus explains how Donatus had misinterpreted the meaning of Daniel’s refusal; he was merely delaying his acceptance of the king’s gifts. Tilley (1997b) argues that the defining characteristic of Donatist identity in the fourth century was being a pure assembly in the midst of impure enemies.

65. Anon. *H. Esc.* 39 (“In illud Matthaei: cavete a pseudoprophetis”), *PLS* 4: 709. His point is that the *traditores* were not only trying to pollute true Christians with their food and communion but had even removed the means by which the Donatist clergy could feed and house themselves.

66. Anon. *H. Esc.* 6 (“De Iacob et Esau”), *PLS* 4: 675. Cf. the Donatist Fulgentius in Ps.-Aug. *Fu.* 14, which interprets Eccles. 10.1 (“muscae moriturae exterminant confectionem suavitatis olei”) to mean that the Catholics are properly compared to unclean food: “Et recte spiritus sanctus immundis alitibus traditores aequavit, quod in aliena mensa improbi corrumpant et olei suavitatem immundis tactibus foedant.”

67. North African representations of Daniel include Bejaoui (1997), 24 (basilica of Tizgirt, ivory plaque from fifth-century Carthage), nos. 22–24 (ceramic vessels), and nos. 63–64 (lamps, Carthage); Salomonson (1979), 55–57 and 72–76 (lamps and plates); and Y. Duval (1982) 2: 618 (tiles, sarcophagi, sculpture). For the Three Boys, see Bejaoui (1997), 23–24, nos. 59–62 (lamps, Carthage), and nos. 14, 20, and 21 (ceramic vessels, Tunisia); Y. Duval (1982) 2: 620 (mosaics and tombs); and Salomonson (1979), 51–54 (ceramic). Literary references to the Three Boys include the *Passio Montani et Lucii* 3, ed. Musurillo (1972), 214–39; Fulg. Rusp. *Abecedarium*, CCSL 91A: 878; Dracontius, *De laudibus Dei*, ed. Moussy and Camus, 24; the Donatist Anon. *H. Esc.* 47, 738; 46, 739; and 51, 729. The Donatist Petilian also drew on imagery of the Three Boys and Daniel: Tilley (1997a), 154.

68. Quodvultdeus, *Sermo* 13.6–7 and *Sermo* 13.1. In *Sermo* 12.2, Quodvultdeus also played on the church’s role as the “house of God,” one of the roles of a great *domus* being to feed its *familia*. See Moderan (2003b), 41, for other Catholic criticisms of Arian charity to the poor.

69. Fulg. Rusp. *Abecedarium*, CCSL 91A: 883–84. He was probably thinking of grants of office and land to the upper classes rather than food for the hungry.

70. Anon. *H. Esc.* 20 (“Felix qui intellegit super egenum”), *RA* 31 (1999), 182–83: “Si omnes ex te preces et fletus exigant quos de aliis tu ipse quaeris exigere, optares forsitan egestatis inopia mori quam aliquem ex praesentibus deprecari.” The whole sermon is on how the rich shouldn’t expect the poor to beg, weep, or otherwise humiliate themselves before them.

71. Ps.-Aug. *Sermo de misericordia* 3, ed. Verbraken (1970), 57: “Neque enim illa misericordia accepta est, quae clamoribus extorquetur: quoniam, quod fecit, non mandato Dei sed precibus praestitit et pecuniam suam lacrimis vendidit.” Anon. *H. Esc.* 54, *PLS* 4: 840–42, makes a similar argument.

72. Ps.-Aug. *Sermo de misericordia* 3, ed. Verbraken (1970), 56: “Est illa rursum illa misericordia, in quocumque negotio misero subvenire, oppressos de potentis faucibus eruere, destitutis praebere solatia, pupillos protegere, viduas et virgines defensare et multis remediis confovere.”

73. Optat. 3.3, *CSEL* 26: 73. Constans did not decree unity for the African church until

after the conflict at Bagai: see Maier (1987–89) 1: 257–58, for the chronology.

74. Optat. 3.3, *CSEL* 26: 74.

75. Ibid. See Cecconi (1990), discussed by Gaddis (2005), 135, for an analysis of how Optatus employs a Catholic discourse of charity against the Donatist discourse of martyrdom here. I would suggest that both Optatus and the Donatists are employing a discourse of charity.

76. Optat. 3.4, *CSEL* 26: 81–82.

77. Ibid., 82: “habebant illic vocatorum infinitam turbam et annonam competentem constat fuisse praeparatam; de basilica quasi publica fecerant horrea, expectantes ut venirent, in quos furorem suum exercere potuissent.”

78. A notable exception to this is Pottier (2008), 21–25, who argues that they were a type of wandering agonistic monk who formed a distinctive religious “order” in the Catholic as well as Donatist church, at least by the early fifth century.

79. For the violence between Catholics and pagans at Sufes and Calama, see Gaddis (2005), 117–19; Hermanowicz (2008), 157–61; Riggs (2006), 300. The *Passio Salsae virginis Tipasitanae* (BHL 7467), a Catholic North African saint’s life of the early fifth century, venerates a girl who was martyred by a crowd of pagans for destroying a temple “idol” during a pagan celebration: *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum antequorum saeculo XVI qui asservantur in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi* (Paris, 1889), 1:344–52.

80. Petilianus, the Donatist bishop of Cirta (and a former lawyer), was particularly adept in his handling of Roman law: see, for example, *Gesta* 3.89, p. 1052; *Gesta* 3.149, p. 1102; and Petilianus *apud* Aug. *Petil.* 2.29.66. Petilianus drew a strong distinction, however, between Roman law and divine law. The Escorial preacher was also very respectful toward imperial law (although he regarded the law of God—the source of all law—as superior): Anon. *H. Esc.* 11, ed. F. Leroy (1999), 167.

81. Tilley (1997a), 91–92 and 155 ff. See also P. Brown (2000), 213 ff., and Hermanowicz (2008), 12, 96, and 111–17.

82. See, among others, Decret (1996), 163–64, and Lepelley (1984), 275. Riggs (2006) and Krause (1987), 119–26, take a more balanced view.

83. Aug. *S.* 62.11.17. Augustine was probably addressing an audience composed largely of his fellow bishops attending the church council of June 401. Perler (1969), 225, dates the sermon to spring 399 in Carthage. The location in Carthage seems secure, since, as Perler notes, Augustine refers to the “genius” and “cives” of Carthage and to a recent sermon “in Mappalibus” (probably Mappalia where the basilica of Cyprian was located). The date of spring 399 is less certain, depending solely on a reference to laws against pagans (*S.* 62.12.18: “rursus quia contra paganos placuit ut leges ferrentur”). Honorius issued a law against pagans in January 399 (*CTh* 16.10.15), which was enforced in Carthage on March 19 by the counts Gaudentius and Jovius (Aug. *civ.* 18.54). However, Augustine is concerned with Catholics destroying temples *without* imperial permission. This would have been more of a concern in 401. The Council of Carthage met June 16, 401, with Augustine present, to demand that the emperor order pagan temples destroyed in the countryside: *Concilia Africae*, *CCSL* 149: 196. The expression “Rursusque quia . . . placuit” in *Sermo* 62 may refer to this council decree.

84. Aug. *S.* 62.11.

85. Aug. *S.* 62.12.18. A Christian landlord should ideally give the place where the temple was to the Christian church so that clerics could destroy it themselves.

86. Aug. *S.* 62.11.17: “Pravorum hominum est, furiosorum circumcellionum, et ubi potestatem non habent saevire, et velle mori properant sine causa.” Cf. Aug. *Petil.* 2.19.

87. Aug. *Epist.* 232 to the Madaurenses (between 399 and 407 C.E.).

88. Aug. *Epist.* 47 to Publicola, in response to Publicola’s *Epist.* 46.

89. For example, Aug. *Epist.* 57 and 139. Further examples are discussed by Lepelley

(1984), 275, and Brown (1963).

90. See Carrié (1982) and Gascou (1985) for this “public” nature of the landlords’ power over *coloni*.

91. Aug. *Epist.* 66 and *Petil.* 2.89. Lepelley (1984), 273–84, has discussed this episode at some length, emphasizing the degree of seigniorial power over *coloni* in this period: “Mais le principal intérêt de ces documents est de manifester fort clairement combien était limitée la part de liberté individuelle qui restait aux colons africains au début du V^e siècle” (275).

92. Aug. *Epist.* 66.

93. *CTh* 16.6.4. Cf. *CTh* 16.5.54 (to Proconsul Julianus; 414 C.E.), which threatened landlords who failed to transfer Donatist basilicas on their estates to the Catholics with heavy fines and possible confiscation of their rents by the imperial fisc. An interesting parallel is the confiscation of estates of landlords who allowed counterfeiting on them: *CTh* 9.21.4 (329 C.E.).

94. As Augustine did in *Epist.* 251 (ca. 411 C.E.), when he threatened the landlord Pancarius with confiscation of his estate if he deposed a Catholic priest at the request of “heretics.”

95. Aug. *S. Dolbeau* 5.13 (“De oboedientia”).

96. Aug. *Epist.* 10*.7. For discussions of this letter, see Pottier (2008), 31; Lepelley (1987); Rougé (1983).

97. Aug. *Epist.* 10*.7.

98. The slave raiders were armed like barbarian soldiers: Aug. *Epist.* 10*.2. These men, however, may already have departed, after selling their loot to the slave merchants.

99. Aug. *Epist.* 10*.3, where Augustine narrated his interview with a girl who had been captured from her house. The question-and-answer form suggests that Augustine was adapting from the official records of the interview. Earlier in the letter, he refused to give the details about a raid on a *villula*, since he only knew of it through “fama.”

100. Aug. *Epist.* 10*.6.

101. *Ibid.* 10*.8.

102. *Sirm.* 1 (333). For the authenticity of this edict, see Cimma (1989), 37, 46–55, and 59–62. For *episcopalis audientia* in general, see Rapp (2005), 242–52; Lamoreaux (1995); Vismara (1995).

103. Lepelley (1983); Rapp (2005), 239–42; Vismara (1995); Gebbia (1989).

104. For secular enforcement, see Gaudemet (1958), 247–49; *Sirm.* 1; *CTh* 1.27.3 (408). See Eck (1983), Cuena Boy (1985), 54–55, and Rapp (2005), 249 ff., for the similarity of *episcopalis audientia* to arbitration, *contra* Cimma (1989), 76.

105. In 399, Honorius assured a (non-Christian) proconsul of Africa that bishops were only to judge matters of religion; other litigation went to the civil judges: *CTh* 16.11.1 (399), Honorius to the proconsul Apollodorus of Africa. Cf. *CJ* 1.4.7 (398) for the East. In 408, a general edict of the West affirmed that bishops could judge civil suits only when both parties agreed (as with ordinary arbitration): *CTh* 1.27.2 (408).

106. See Dossey (2001) for the tendency of *episcopalis audientia* to become more aggressive in places where secular authority was weak; and Rapp (2005), 249, for *episcopalis audientia* “plug[ging] into a bishop’s charitable responsibilities.”

107. *Epist.* 10*4.

108. Lepelley (1987) is almost certainly correct in arguing that Augustine didn’t employ the harsher imperial edicts against the transport and sale of free citizens because he did not want to ask for capital punishment. See also Hermanowicz (2008), 98–102, 154, and *passim*, for Augustine’s complex attitude toward enforcing the penalties against the Donatists.

109. *Epist.* 24* was probably written before *Epist.* 10*, since in the latter letter Augustine knew the law about parents selling their children (*Epist.* 10*.2), which he was asking

Eustochius about in *Epist.* 24*. *Epist.* 10*, however, was written four months after the 120 slaves were rescued, so Augustine may have approached Eustochius after the raid on the ship. For the importance of jurists in late antique North Africa, see Liebs (1993), 5–27. For the legal issues about parents’ rights to sell their children, see Humbert (1983).

110. Aug. *Epist.* 24*.1.

111. Aug. *Epist.* 9*.1: “eum reppererunt cum illa femina quam professam sanctimoniam ad ludibrium stupri de patria duxerat.” Although Augustine did not give a place-name, the crime almost certainly took place in a rural parish, since the church was within Augustine’s diocese and had its own priest. As far as we know, priests did not have jurisdiction over the churches within Hippo itself. For the dating of this letter, see Gabillon and Lepelley (1987).

112. Augustine refers to the punishment as “caede illata” (*Epist.* 9*.1), “corporalem poenam” (*Epist.* 9*.2), and “disciplinam verberum” (*Epist.* 9*.2). It is not clear what the clerics were using to strike the man.

113. Aug. *Epist.* 9*.1. Pope Celestine was interested in judging only those who inflicted the beating. Alypius would be judging the case in his role as primate of Numidia.

114. Aug. *Epist.* 9*.1: “quia difficile mihi videntur qui eum reppererunt . . . ab eius corporali iniuria temperasse.”

115. Aug. *Epist.* 185.4 (ca. 416–17 C.E.).

116. Aug. *Epist.* 14*, 15*, 13*, 18*, and 35.2 for the violation of peasant *sanctimoniales*; *Gesta* 3.258, p. 1218 (Donatist bishops to Marcellinus): “Sacred virginity is raped, the rich are proscribed, the poor are despoiled.”

117. See, in general, Arjava (1996), 165, and Elm (1994), esp. 137–83. The main North African canons on their consecration and minimum age (twenty-five) are *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 13 (Conc. Carthag., 390 C.E.); Ferrand. *Canon.* 30, 91, and 121; and *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 227 (Conc. Carthag., 418 C.E.). Priests were not supposed to consecrate them without their bishops’ permission.

118. A Donatist text of the fourth century C.E. connects *sanctimoniales* with prophecy: Anon. *Pro.*, PLS 1: 179: “cui erant etiam filiae quinque virgines prophetantes [Acts 21.8], id est sanctimoniales.” W. H. C. Frend (1982), 614, suggests that they played a particularly important role in the Donatist church. In Catholic texts, they appear to confine their activities to prayer, hymns, processions, and frequent attendance at church (even when the churches were closed): Aug. *Civ.* 22.8; *Epist.* 23.3 (to the Donatist bishop Maximinus of the Castellum Siniti); and the anonymous treatise Ps.-Aug. *Sobr.*, PL 40: 1105–12, which was a virtual rule for *sanctimoniales*. For their role in teaching “ignorant and rustic women” before baptism: see *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 345 (Conc. Carthag. IV / *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* 12, from southern Gaul). Cf. Elm (1994), 168–74; McNamara (1983), 119–20.

119. For a *sanctimonialis* weaving on an estate (not the estate where she had her *origo colonatus*), see Aug. *Epist.* 15*.3. Rural *sanctimoniales* living with their parents are mentioned in Aug. *Epist.* 13*.2 and *Civ.* 22.8. This was approved of by the African church councils: *Concilia Africae*, CCSL 149: 42. The problem of *sanctimoniales* and clerics living together is addressed in the Donatist treatise Ps.-Cypr. *Singul. cler.* For celibate marriages between clerics and vowed virgins elsewhere in the empire, see Elm (1994), 162–64; Grubbs (1995), 72–73; McNamara (1983), 112–13.

120. Aug. *Epist.* 13*.2 and 18*.

121. Both of these last two incidents are reported in Aug. *Epist.* 35.

122. *Passio Maximae, Secundae et Donatillae* 2, ed. Maier (1987–89), 1: 97. This life portrays the desire to become a vowed virgin as emanating from the girls themselves, especially in the case of a third girl, Secunda, who had taken a private resolution of virginity against her father’s will, although only twelve years old. The virgins lived on the *possessio* Cephalitana: see above, [chapter 5](#). Their cult is attested at rural communities in Numidia: Y. Duval (1982), no. 109 (“sca Maxima, sca Secunda, sca Donatilla”), found at Sila.

123. *CTh* 9.25.1 (354) and 9.25.2 (364); Beaucamp (1990), 118–19; Grubbs (1995), 193. Augustine alludes to these imperial laws in *Epist.* 9*.3.

124. Aug. *Epist.* 14* (to the landlord Dorotheus) and 15* (to *fratres*, probably of Carthage). See Février (1983), 111, for the date of the letters, ca. 419 C.E.

125. Aug. *Epist.* 15*.1 (to “sanctis fratribus”). These clerics are probably in Carthage, since another part of letter refers to the *causa* of those who had fled to the Carthaginian church. It is an interesting question how the clergy of Carthage got jurisdiction over a criminal case like this. The landlord Dorotheus, who was probably a lessee of an imperial *saltus*, was almost certainly the one with the real jurisdiction over the *conductor*. This would accord with *CTh* 1.11.2 (398), which reserves jurisdiction to the agents of the *res privata* for crimes committed on imperial estates: Krause (1987), 114.

126. For example, Ps.-Victorinus, *De physicis* 13, *PL* 8: 1307 ff.; and Ps.-Aug., *Altercatio ecclesiae et synagogae* 36 and 40.

127. Aug. *Epist.* 9*.2.

128. *Ibid.* 9*.2.4–5.

CONCLUSION

1. For the service aristocracy, see Heather (1998) and Banaji (2002), 101–33; for the increased local interference of imperial officials, Kelly (2004); and for Christian bishops, Rapp (2005), 155–289. Both Kelly (2004), 182, and Wickham (2005b), 528, have noted how the multiple levels of authority gave peasants the possibility of playing one master off another.

2. See Krause (1987), 104–7, 117–18, 124, etc., for landlord-tenant interaction becoming more of an impersonal, business relationship, with money rents as one sign of this. See also Kelly (2004), 112 and 183, for how money payments for government access allowed previously excluded groups (for example, Libanius’s tenants) to bypass traditional patronage networks.

3. Dodds (1965).

4. For the increase in artisan production at rural sites, see above, [chapter 3](#), note 47. For a discussion of how the increased supply of late antique pottery might affect the visibility of rural sites in archaeological survey, see Pettegrew (2007).

5. See Wickham (2005b), 728–805, for the changes in ceramic production between 400 and 800 in both the western and eastern Mediterranean. Most areas, with the partial exception of Egypt and northern Gaul, fall into localism by the seventh and eighth centuries (in a more extreme form in Europe). For the distinction between this localism and the “lateral expansion” of production of the fourth century, when small workshops were still plugged into complex exchange systems, see McCormick (2002), 58; Sarris (2004b); Ripoll and Arce (2000), 101.

6. For the East, good overviews are Gatier (1994) and (2005); Morrisson and Sodini (2002), 10 ff.; and Wickham (2005b), 442–65. For the West, Ripoll and Arce (2000), 96–101 and 113; Wickham (2005b), 473–81; Bowes (2002), 242 and 316–60; and Francovich and Hodges (2003).

7. For the rural bishopric, see Bowes (2002), 339–54, for Italy; and Dagron (1979), 44–47, and Sartre (1999), 215–19, for the eastern Mediterranean. Only neighboring Cyrenaica appears to have come close to Latin North Africa’s density of rural bishops: Roques (1987), 340 and 353 ff. For the beginnings of the parish system in the later fifth and sixth centuries, see the papers in Pergola (1999). Bowes (2002) makes a persuasive case that the “private” villa-churches of the late fourth and fifth centuries helped transform villas into villagelike rural communities.

8. For the social diversity of early monasticism, see Caner (2002) and Goehring (1999). For the cult of the saints, see Brown (1981).
9. See Wickham (2005a), 56–58, and (2005b), 523 and 465–73, for the contrast between the strong villages of the eastern Mediterranean and the weak or nonexistent villages of the West (which he partly attributes to the Western aristocracy’s taste for part-time residence at rural villas). See Garnsey (1979) and Leveau (1983) for the spread of private estates as part of Roman imperialism. Tarpin (2002), 86, 189–90, 193, 196, 219–20, etc., studies the meaning of the terms *vici* and *pagi* in Western sources and concludes that neither term designates a rural community.
10. Trombley (2004), 78–79.
11. See Banaji (2002), 192 ff., and Morrisson and Sodini (2002) for village oligarchies; Trombley (2004), 78–79, for the dedications of village bathhouses; Dagron (1979) for *autopragia*; [chapter 4](#), note 7, above for village magistracies.
12. See Roques (1987), 353–56, 360–61, 281, and 289, for Synesios. In Synes. *Epist.* 66, the villagers of Hydrax and Palaibiska decide they no longer want a bishop and would prefer to be part of the diocese of Erythron. For the mosaics at Cyrenaican village churches, see Alföldi-Rosenbaum and Ward-Perkins (1980), pls. 11.4 and 56.
13. Tarpin’s (2002) study of the *vicus* and *pagus* in the West is a good start, esp. 218–25, on the fate of indigenous communities when Roman colonies and *pagi* were established. For the greater continuity of village communities in the eastern Mediterranean from pre-Roman times to late antiquity, see Roques (1987), 141–42, for Cyrenaica; and Mitchell (1993) for Asia Minor.
14. Morizot (1997); Modéran (2003b), 508–10.
15. In addition to [chapter 3](#) above, see Modéran (2003b), 384–87, for the Byzantine restoration of elite power structures in areas that had fallen under the control of the peasantry in Numidia; see Bonifay (2004), 484, and Pavolini and Tortorella (1997), 267, on the urban trend in Byzantine pottery production; and Y. Duval (1982) 2: 572–74, for the assertion of episcopal control over the deposition of saints’ relics in rural communities.
16. Modéran (2003b), esp. 315–415, 417–21 and 439–44, and 792–95, for the seventh century.
17. See [chapter 3](#), pages 73–84 and 90–93, above. For Banaji (2002) and Sarris (2006), 129 ff., the aristocrats are the ones initiating economic change on their estates in late antiquity.

APPENDIX

1. In the North African church councils, *locus* was used as the opposite of *civitas*. For a similar usage in North African epigraphy, see Lepelley (1994) and Jacques (1990), 63–64.
2. *Chōrion* in sixth-century Greek was making a transition from the sense “estate” to “village” (see Lemerle [1979], 18–19). Procopius used it in both senses in *De bello vandalico*: Procop. *Vand.* 1.5.11–12 and 2.3.26 for “estate” and 1.23.1–3 as a synonym for *kōmē*, “village.”
3. *Contra* Lancel (1984), 1109, Augustine’s later reference to two bishops who had been in “urbe” refers to Rome, not Tegulatensis.
4. For the association of the word *turris* with towers on estates, see Lancel (1972), 185–86.
5. Mercier (1924) remains the best general study of “Libyan” toponyms in the Roman period, although he mixed Punic and Libyan words (borrowings between Libyan and Punic make the languages hard to differentiate, especially in brief inscriptions or place-names: see Sznycer [1965] and Camps [1994]). Mercier (1924) interprets GRM as “village,” citing modern place-names Agerem, Igerman, Ag-erem, Agrem, and the ancient bishopric Aggir

Germaniciensis. According to the *Encyclopédie berbère*, Aggar is probably derived from the Punic GR or GWR “cultivated earth, farms,” but this has been debated. According to Hoftijzer et. al. (1995), *mager* / *magar* means “farm, country house, villa,” with reference to Megara, a suburb of Carthage. Jaubert (1913), 41, compared *giru* to *gour* (in Libya, *gzur*), the modern word for small, fortified settlements. It was sometimes followed by a personal name in the genitive in the bishop lists, rather like the nomenclature of estates: for example, “Fructuosus de Giru Marcelli” and “Felicianus de Giru Tarasi” in the *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae* (Maier [1973], 86–87). Even though the Phoenicians are not thought to have transmitted the Semitic root *kpr* (“village”) to North Africa (Debergh 1983), *Cebarsussa* in Byzacena, the *fundus Gebardilla* in Proconsularis, and Cebar in Corippus may derive from it.

6. Lancel (1964), 144–45; (1972), 136–37. It should be noted that the *-iana* suffix is more likely to indicate a rural community when it was derived from a personal name, not, as in the case of *Aurusulianensis*, from Libyo-Punic roots.

7. According to Lancel (1991), 1335, the name may be derived from *botrus*, “raisin.” See Lancel (1964), 144–45, for place-names ending in *-iana* as especially common for estates in Byzacena.

8. Mesnage (1912), 435, compares it to the Concordie in the *Martyrol. Hier.* 13 kal. March: “In Africa, **civitate** Concordie, passio sanctorum Donati, Secundiani.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(PRIMARY SOURCES (ANONYMOUS NORTH AFRICAN CHRISTIAN TEXTS))

Order and abbreviations are adapted from Gryson 2007.

- Ambrose (Pseudo-). *S. Se.* = *Sermones 3 ex codice sessoriano 55* (2099). *PL* 18: 109–42 (= *PL* 17: 779–812). [3 sermons]
- Anonymous. *Adv. Man.* = Ed. F. Dolbeau. “Un témoignage inconnu contre des Manichéens d’Afrique.” *ZPE* 150 (2004): 228–29.
- . *Casp.* 14 = *Expositio fidei catholicae*. *PLS* 1: 670–72; *CCSL* 9: 347–48.
- . *Chrs.* = *Liber generationis* (II). Ed. T. Mommsen. *MGH, AA* 9: 115–40. [Part of the Donatist Compendium]
- . *Fel.* = *Carmen ad Flavium Felicem de resurrectione mortuorum et de iudicio Domini*. Ed. J.H. Waszink. *Florilegium patristicum suppl.* 1. Bonn, 1987.
- . *Fustat* = Papyrus-Amulett. Ed. R. Daniel and F. Maltomini. *ZPE* 74 (1988): 255–56.
- . *Gen.* = *Liber genealogus*. Ed. T. Mommsen. *MGH, AA* 9: 154–96.
- . *H. Arm.* = *Collectio armamentarii*. *PLS* 2 and 4. [15 sermons]
- . *Hel.* = *Virtutes Heliae, Helisaei virtutes*. *PLS* 4: 915–17; better edition in Dolbeau and Poirot (1994), 135–64. [Part of the Donatist Compendium]
- . *H. Esc.* = *Collectio escurialensis*. Ed. F. Leroy (1999); *PLS* 4; *PL* 39 and 95. [60 sermons]
- . *H. Vind.* = *Homiliae vindobonenses*. Ed. Bogaert (1963), 9–11; *PLS* 1: 297–30; 2: 1031–33; 3: 1370–76; 4: 1911–22; *PL* 47: 1155–56. [Sermons 5A, 11, 12, 14, 19, 20, 20A, 21A, 22, 23, 24, 36]
- . *Indiculum veteris et novi testamenti*. *PLS* 1: 67–70; Mommsen (1886), 144–48. [Part of the Donatist Compendium]
- . *Inv.* = *Inventiones nominum*. *PLS* 4: 907–15. [Part of the Donatist Compendium]
- . *Jb.* = *Commentarius in Iob*. Ed. K. Steinhauser, with H. Müller and D. Weber. *In Iob commentarius*. *CSEL* 96. Vienna, 2006. Older edition in *PG* 17: 371–522.
- . *Mani.* = Manichaean fragments. Ed. R. Merkelbach. *Der manichäische Codex von Tebessa*. In *Manichaean Studies: Proceedings of the first international conference on Manichaeism*, 235–64. Lund, 1988. Also in *PLS* 2: 1378–88.
- . *Morin* = *Sermones 30 collectionis Morin dictae*. *PLS* 4: 653 ff. and 741–834. [30 sermons; *these are listed under JO-N in Gryson 2007]
- . *Nomina locorum et interpretatio nominum de hebreo in latinum*. Unpublished. Related to *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum hebraicorum*. *PL* 23: 905–76; Rouse and Mc-Nelis (2000), 217.

- . *Pa.* = *De ratione Paschae* (= *Computus Carthaginensis*). Ed. B. Krusch. *Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie*, 279–97. Leipzig, 1880.
- . *Pro.* = *Prophetiae ex omnibus libris collectae*. *PLS* 1: 177–80. [Part of the Donatist Compendium]
- . *Raas.* = Ed. Raasted (1961), 113–14; reprinted in *PLS* 3: 311.
- . *S. Bar.* = Ed. Barré (1963), 54–93. [Sermons 1, 3, 4, 7, 8]
- . *S. Bou.* = Ed. Bouhot (1980); (2002), 54–71. [2 sermons]
- . *S. Can.* = Aug. Sermons 3, 7, 23, 27, 46, 48, 49, 50, 59, and 60. *PL* 39: 1743–1858 (see Dolbeau [1985], 14–19, for the probable common authorship).
- . *S. Dol.* = Ed. Dolbeau (2003a), 244–50; (2003b), 173–74; (2004), 315–19. [3 sermons]
- . *S. Ét.* = Ed. Étaix (1982), 340–42 (under the name of Severianus); (1982), 346–49; Étaix and de Vregille (1982), 601–5; Étaix (1994), 596–98; Dolbeau and Étaix (2003), 256–58. [Sermons 13, 15, 18, 25, and 36]
- . *S. Frai.* = *De contemnenda morte*. Ed. J. Fraipont. *Florilegia biblica africana saec. v.* CCSL 90: 260. Turnhout, 1961.
- . *S. Le.* = Ed. Leclercq (1948), 55–72; reprinted in *PLS* 3: 1412–24. [6 sermons]
- . *S. Lem.* 1 = *Sermo in natale ss. innocentium*. Ed. Lemarié (1981), 137–38.
- . *Tu.* = *Sermo de fluxu sanguinis*. *PLS* 3: 1368–70.
- . *Ver. Jud.* = *Contra Iudaeos*. Ed. R. Gryson. *Scripta arriana latina*. CCSL 87: 93–117. [Arian]
- . *Ver. pag.* = *Contra paganos*. Ed. R. Gryson. *Scripta arriana latina* 1. CCSL 87: 118–40. [Arian]
- . *Ver. S.* = *De sollemnitatibus*. Ed. R. Gryson. *Scripta arriana latina* 1. CCSL 87: 47–92. [Arian; 15 sermons]
- ANT-S = *Antiphonale sinaiticum*. Ed. E.A. Lowe and B. Fischer. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltexte*. Vetus Latina 12: 110–35. Freiburg, 1986.
- Augustine (Pseudo-). *Alt.* = *Altercatio ecclesiae et synagoga*. Ed. J.N. Hillgarth. *Potami episcopi olisponensis opera omnia*. CCSL 69A. Turnhout, 1999.
- . *Contra Felicianum Arianum de unitate trinitatis*. *PL* 42: 1155–72 (under Pseudo-Vigilius in Frede [1995]).
- . *Fu.* = *Libellus adversus Fulgentium Donatistam*. Ed. Lambot (1948), 190–222; reprinted in Maier (1987–89), 2: 239–85.
- . *Hyp.* = *Hypomnesticon Augustini contra pelagianos sive caelestianos haereticos*. Ed. J.E. Chisholm. *The Pseudo-Augustinian Hypomnesticon against the Pelagians and Celestians* 2. Paradosis 21. Freiburg, 1980.
- . *Or.* = *De oratione et eleemosyna*. *PL* 40: 1225–28.
- . *Pas.* = *Altercatio cum Pascentio Ariano*. *PL* 33: 1156–62.
- . *S. Bar.* = *Tractatus de partu sanctae Mariae*. Ed. Barré (1957), 30–33; reprinted in *PLS* 4: 941–42.
- . *S. Bou.* = *Sermones*. Ed. Bouhot (1969), 251–53; (1984), 48–51. [2 sermons]
- . *S. Cai.* I = Ed. A.B. Caillau and B. Saint-Yves. *S. Aurelii Augustini operum supplementum I*. Paris, 1836 (reprinted in *PLS* 2: 900–1029). [Sermons 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 17, 20, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 64, 66, 67, App. 5, App. 7, App. 8]
- . *S. Cas.* II, 158 = Sermon from the *Florilegium casinense*. Ed. Verbraken (1963), 29–32.
- . *S. Del.* = *De decimis dandis*. Ed. M.-J. Delage. *Césaire d'Arles, Sermons au peuple vol. 2*. SC 243: 486–92. Paris, 1978. [1 sermon]
- . *S. Den.* I = *Laus cerei*. Ed. Verbraken (1960), 303–6.

- . *S. Dol.* = Sermons from the homiliary of Olomouc. Ed. Dolbeau (2001), 357–89. [7 sermons]
- . *Sermones Cai. II* = Ed. A.B. Caillau. *S. Augustini opera omnia, Supplementum II* Paris, 1842 (reprinted in *PLS* 2: 1081–1123). [Sermons 1, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 38, 42, 44, 45, 48, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, App. 1, App. 17, App. 18, App. 57]
- . *Sermones dubii. PL* 39: 1643–1718; Dolbeau (1995b), 101–4. [Sermons 383, 391, 394, 394A, 396]
- . *Sermones spurii. PL* 39: 1735–2354. [Sermons 65, 86, 114, 117, 120, 121, 131, 132, 150, 172, 175, 195, 219, 227, 245, 246, 317]
- . *S. Ét.* = Ed. Étaix (1971), 10–11; (1993), 364–70. [2 sermons]
- . *S. Guelf.* = *Sermones spurii e cod. guelferbytano 4096*. Ed. G. Morin. *PLS* 2: 1339–48. [Sermons 1, 3, 5, 6]
- . *S. Le.* = *Sermones africani saec. iv-v*. Ed. Leclercq (1949), 100–113; reprinted in *PLS* 3: 312–22. [Sermons 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8]
- . *S. Liv. 5* = Ed. F. Liverani. *PLS* 2: 1289–90.
- . *S. Mai* = Ed. A. Mai and G. Cozza-Luzi. *Nova patrum bibliotheca I.S. Augustini novi ex codicibus vaticanis sermon.* Rome, 1852 (most reprinted in *PLS* 2: 1123–86). [Sermons 8, 43, 47, 48, 53, 73, 77, 93, 102, 111, 117, 118, 149, 151, 177]
- . *S. Mor.* = *Sermo sancti Augustini de Epiphania. PLS* 1: 297–300.
- . *S. Ver.* = Ed. Verbraken (1970), 53–62. [3 sermons]
- . *S. Wil. I* = *Sermo paschalis*. Ed. A. Wilmart. *PLS* 1: 295–96.
- . *Sobr.* = *De sobrietate et castitate. PL* 40: 1105–12.
- . *Sol.* = *Solutiones diversarum quaestionum ab haereticis obiectarum*. Ed. B. Schwank. *Florilegia biblica africana saec. v. CCSL* 90: 149–223. Turnhout, 1961.
- . *Var.* = *Contra Varimadum Arianum*. Ed. B. Schwank. *Florilegia biblica africana saec. v. CCSL* 90: 1–134. Turnhout, 1961. [Listed under PS-VIG in Gryson 2007]
- . *Ven.* = *Contra venena serpentum manichaeorum*. Ed. Dolbeau (2000), 243–51.
- Chrysostom (Pseudo-). *Je.* = *Sermo de ieiunio Nineuitarum. PLS* 4: 846–50.
- . *Sol.* = *De solstitiis et aequinoctiis. PLS* 1: 557–67. [= Ps.-Chrys. *S. Wilmart* 17]
- . *S. Wilmart* = *Wilmart collectio 38 latinarum homiliarum* (Ps.-Chrys. Latin). Ed. W. Wenk. *Zur Sammlung der 38 Homilien des Chrysostomus Latinus (mit Edition der Nr. 6, 8, 27, 32, und 33)*. Wiener Studien Beiheft 10. Vienna, 1988. [Sermons 6, 8, 17, 27, 32, 33; listed under Chrys in Gryson 2007]
- Cyprian (Pseudo-). *Ad Novatianum*. Ed. G.F. Diercks. *Novatiani opera quae supersunt nunc primum in unum collecta. CCSL* 4: 137–52. Turnhout, 1972.
- . *De aleatoribus*. Ed. W. Hartel. *Thascii Caecilii Cypriani opera omnia. CSEL* 3.3: 92–104. Vienna, 1871.
- . *De montibus Sina et Sion. CSEL* 3.3: 104–19.
- . *De rebaptismate. CSEL* 3.3: 69–92.
- . *De singularitate clericorum. CSEL* 3.3: 173–220.
- . *Epistula ad plebem Carthaginensem*. Ed. G.F. Diercks. *CCSL* 3C: 641–43. [Donatist]
- . *Epistula ad Turasium presbyterum. CSEL* 3.3: 1871. [Ps.-Cypr. *Ep.* 4 in Gryson 2007]
- . *Exhortatio de paenitentia. PL* 4: 1153–58.
- . *Quod idola dii non sint. CSEL* 3.1: 19–31.
- . *Sermo de centesima, sexagesima, tricesima. PLS* 1: 53–67.
- ER S. = Eraclius. *Sermones* 2. Ed. P Verbraken. *RB* 71 (1961): 9–21 (S. 2 = Ps.-Aug. S. 72). [2 sermons]

- Fulgentius (Pseudo-). *Pro fide catholica adversus Pintam episcopum arianum liber*. Ed. J. Fraipont. CCSL 90: 239–59.
- . *Sermones* 80. PL 65: 855–954; PLS 3: 1363, for *tituli*. [67 sermons]
- . *S. Lem.* = Ed. Lemarié (1972), 118–20; (1993), 573–82; (1994), 194–95 and 197–98. [10 fragments]
- IT Theo = *Theodosii de situ terrae sanctae*. Ed. P. Geyer. CCL 175: 115–25.
- Jerome (Pseudo-) (Hieronimus). *Ep. Mor.* = *Epistola Pseudo-Hieronymi ad Damasum papam*. PLS 1: 303–4.
- Marius Victorinus (Pseudo-). *De physicis*. PL 8: 1295–1310; PLS 1: 171.
- MAX n.-S = Maximinus. Ed. Dolbeau (1995), 295–96 (= Aug. *Sermones dubii* S. 360).
- Optatus (Pseudo-). *Sermo in natali sanctorum innocentium*. PLS 1: 288–95.
- Pet. C. = Petrus Chrysologus (Pseudo-). *Sermones*. CCL 24B. [Sermons 129, 135, 159]
- Psalter collect. Ed. J.M. Canals Casas. *Las colectas de Salmos de la serie "visita nos"*: *Introducción, edición crítica e índices*. Salmanticensis estudios 26. Salamanca, 1978.
- Quodvultdeus (Pseudo-). *Sermo de dominica oratione*. PLS 3: 299–303. [Listed under QU tr 1 in Gryson 2007]
- . *Sermo de natale sanctorum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*. PLS 3: 303–6. [Listed under QU tr 2 in Gryson 2007]
- Sulpicius Severus (Pseudo-). *Epistolae*. Ed. Lepelley (1989). Older edition in *Sulpicii Severi libri qui supersunt*. Ed. C. Halm. CSEL 1: 251–56. Vienna, 1866. [2 letters]
- Victor of Vita (Pseudo-). *Homilia de S. Cypriano*. PL 58: 265–68.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Abram, S. 2000. "Il materiale numismatico rinvenuto nello scavo e nella ricognizione intorno a Dougga: Osservazioni preliminari." In De Vos (2000), 78–80.
- Adams, J.N. 2007. *The regional diversification of Latin, 200 BC–AD 600*. Cambridge.
- Adan-Bayewitz, D. 1993. *Common pottery in Roman Galilee: A study of local trade*. Ramat-Gan, Israel.
- Adkin, N. 1993. "A note on the date of the Pseudo-Augustinian treatise *De sobrietate et castitate*." *Acta classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 29: 191–93.
- Aerts, A., B. Velde, K. Janssens, and W. Dijkman. 2003. "Change in silica sources in Roman and post-Roman glass." *Spectrochimica Acta Part B: Atomic Spectroscopy* 58.4: 659–67.
- L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain (I^{er} siècle av.ap. J.-C.): Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française de Rome sous le patronage de l'Institut National d'Archéologie et d'Art de Tunis (Rome, 1987)*. Rome, 1990.
- Akerraz, A. 1987. "Nouvelles observations sur l'urbanisme du quartier nord-est de Volubilis." In *L'Africa romana: Atti del IV convegno di studio, Sassari, 12–14 dicembre 1986*, ed. A. Mastino, 445–60. Sassari.
- Albertini, E. 1932. "Ostrakon byzantin de Négrine (Numidie)." In *Cinquantenaire de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger (1881–1931)*. Algiers.
- Alcock, L. 1950. "A seaside villa in Tripolitania." *PBSR* 18: 92–100.
- Alcock, S. 1993. *Graecia capta: The landscapes of Roman Greece*. Cambridge.
- Alcock, S., and J. Cherry, eds. 2004. *Side-by-side survey: Comparative regional studies in the Mediterranean world*. Oxford.
- Alexander, J.S. 2001. "Criteria for discerning Donatist sermons." *Studia patristica* 38: 3–7.
- Alexander, M., and M. Ennaifer, eds. 1973–76. *Corpus des mosaïques de la Tunisie*. Vol. 1, *Région de Ghar el Melh (Porto Farina)*, *Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie*, feuille 7. 3

- pts. Tunis.
- Alexander, R. 1999. "The emerging world-system and colonial Yucatán: The archaeology of core-periphery integration, 1780–1847." In *World-systems theory in practice: Leadership, production, and exchange*, ed. P.N. Kardulias, 103–24. Lanham, MD.
- . 2004. *Yaxcabá and the Caste War of Yucatán: An archaeological perspective*. Albuquerque, NM.
- Alföldi-Rosenbaum, E., and J. Ward-Perkins. 1980. Justinian mosaic pavements in Cyrenaican churches. *Monografie di Archeologia Libica* 14. Rome.
- Allen, T. 2001. "Ad aquas: Roman spa bathing in Tunisia." *Mouseion*, 3rd ser., 1: 139–66.
- Alston, R. 2001. "Urban population in late Roman Egypt and the end of the ancient world." In *Debating Roman demography*, ed. W. Scheidel, 161–204. Leiden.
- Anselmino, L., M. Bouchenaki, A. Carandini, P. Leveau, D. Manacorda, C. Pavolini, G. Pucci, and P. Salama. 1989. *Il castellum di Nador: Storia di una fattoria tra Tipasa e Caesarea (I-VI sec)*. *Monografie di Archeologia Libyca* 23. Rome.
- Antit, A., H. Broise, and Y. Thébert. 1983. "Les environs immédiats de Bulla Regia." In *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Bulla Regia*, ed. A. Beschouch, 1: 135–90. Rome.
- Arjava, A. 1996. *Women and law in late antiquity*. Oxford.
- Arnheim, M.T.W. 1972. *The senatorial aristocracy in the late Roman empire*. Oxford.
- Arnold, W.T. 1914. *The Roman system of provincial administration to the accession of Constantine the Great*. Rev. E.S. Shuckburgh. 3rd ed. Oxford.
- Arthur, P. 1982. "Amphora production in the Tripolitanian Gebel." *Libyan Studies* 13: 61–72.
- Aurigemma, S. 1926. *I mosaici di Zliten*. Rome.
- Badot, P., and D. de Decker. 1998. "Les religions devant les mouvements sociaux de l'Antiquité tardive: L'exemple des Bagaudes." *Les études classiques* 66: 83–94.
- Bagnall, R. 1995. *Egypt in late antiquity*. Princeton, NJ.
- . 2005. "Villages and city: Geographies of power in Byzantine Egypt." In Lefort, Morisson, and Sodini (2005), 553–65.
- Bailey, D. 1988. *Roman provincial lamps*. Vol. 3 of *A catalogue of the lamps in the British Museum*. London.
- Bailey, D.R. Shackleton. 1979. *Towards a text of "Anthologia Latina"*. Cambridge Philological Society, Supplementary Volume, no. 5. Cambridge.
- Ballet, P., F. Mahmoud, M. Vichy, and M. Picon. 1991. "Artisanat de la céramique dans l'Égypte romaine tardive et byzantine: Prospections d'ateliers de potiers de Minia à Assouan." In *Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne*, vol. 2, ed. P. Ballet, 129–44. Cairo.
- Banaji, J. 2002. *Agrarian change in late antiquity: Gold, labour, and aristocratic dominance*. Oxford.
- Bang, P.F. 2007. "Trade and empire—In search of organising concepts for the Roman economy." *Past and Present* 195: 3–54.
- . 2008. *The Roman bazaar: A comparative study of trade and markets in a tributary empire*. Cambridge.
- Banning, E.B. 2002. *Archaeological survey*. New York.
- Baratte, F. 1989. "La verrerie dans l'Afrique romaine: État des questions." *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22: 141–49.
- Bardenhewer, O. 1924. *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*. Vol. 4. Freiburg im Breisgau.
- Barker, G., ed. 1995. *A Mediterranean valley: Landscape archaeology and annales history in the Biferno Valley*. London.
- . 1996. "Prehistoric settlement." In Barker and Mattingly (1996), 83–109.
- Barker, G., and J. Lloyd, eds. 1991. *Roman landscapes: Archaeological survey in the*

- Mediterranean region*. Archeological Monographs of the British School at Rome, no. 2. London.
- Barker, G., and D. Mattingly, eds. 1996. *Farming the desert: The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey*. 2 vols. London.
- Barkey, K., and R. Van Rossem. 1997. "Networks of contention: Villages and regional structure in the seventeenth-century Ottoman Empire." *American Journal of Sociology* 102: 1345–82.
- Barnes, T. 1978. *The sources of the Historia Augusta*. Collection Latomus 155. Brussels.
- . 1982. *The new empire of Diocletian and Constantine*. Cambridge, MA.
- Barnish, S. 1987. "Pigs, plebeians, and potentes: Rome's economic hinterland c. 350–600 AD." *PBSR* 55: 157–85.
- Barré, H. 1957. "Le sermon 'Exhortatur' est-il de Saint Ildefonse?" *RB* 67: 10–33.
- . 1963. "Sermons marials inédits 'in Natali Domini.'" *Marianum* 25: 39–93.
- Bats, M. 1988. *Vaisselle et alimentation à Olbia de Provence (v. 351—v. 50 av. J.-C.)*. Paris.
- Beaucamp, J. 1990. *Le droit imperial*. Vol. 1 of *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4e—7e siècle)*. Travaux et Mémoires de Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance 5. Paris.
- Bejaoui, F. 1995. "Une église d'époque vandale à Henchir el Gousset (région de Thelepte-Tunisie)." *Africa* 13: 101–22.
- . 1997. *Céramique et religion chrétienne: Les thèmes bibliques sur la sigillée africaine*. Tunis.
- . 2005. "Sur quelques objets en bronze nouvellement trouvés en Tunisie." *Antiquité tardive* 13: 115–20.
- Belkahlia, S., and G. Di Vita-Évrard. 1995. "Magistratures autochtones dans les cités pérégrines de l'Afrique proconsulaire." In Troussel (1995), 255–74.
- Bénabou, M. 1976. *La résistance africaine à la romanisation*. Paris.
- . 1981. "Anomalies municipales en Afrique romaine?" *Ktema* 6: 253–60.
- Bender, H. 2001. "Archaeological perspectives on rural settlement in late antiquity in the Rhine and Danube area." In Burns and Eadie (2001), 185–98.
- Ben Hassen, H., and L. Maurin, ed. 1998. *Oudhna (Uthina): La redécouverte d'une ville antique de Tunisie*. Ausonius—Publications, Mémoires 2. Bordeaux.
- Ben Khader, A. ben Abed, and N. Dural. 2000. "La capitale du royaume vandale et les villes de Tunisie à l'époque vandale." In *Sedes regiae (Ann. 400–800)*, ed. G. Ripoll and J. Gurt, 163–218. Barcelona.
- Ben Lazreg, N., and D.J. Mattingly. 1992. *Leptiminus (Lamta): A Roman port city in Tunisia*. Report 1. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series, no. 4. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Ben Moussa, M. 2007. *La production de sigillées africaines*. Barcelona.
- Benseddik, N., and T.W. Potter. 1993. *Fouilles du forum de Cherchel 1977–1981*. Supplément au Bulletin d'Archéologie Algérienne, no. 6. Algiers.
- Ben Younès, H. 1986. "La nécropole punique d'El Hkayma." *Reppal* 2: 31–67.
- . 1988. "La nécropole punique d'El Hkayma, sept. 1985." *Reppal* 4: 49–150.
- Ben Younès-Krandel, A. 1992–93. "La nécropole rurale de Thigibba Bure (Djebba)." *Reppal* 7–8: 179–286.
- Benzina ben Abdallah, Z. 1993. "Du côté d'Ammaedara (Haïdra): Musulamii et Musunii Regiani." *Ant. Afr.* 28: 139–45.
- Berlin, A. 1997. "The plain wares." In *Tel Anafa II: The Hellenistic and Roman pottery*, ed. S. Herbert, vol. 1. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Berthier, A. 1942. *Les vestiges du christianisme antique dans la Numidie centrale*. Algiers.

- . 1980. "Un habitat punique à Constantine." *Ant. Afr.* 16: 13.
- . 1981. *La Numidie, Rome et le Maghreb*. Paris: Picard.
- . 2000. *Tiddis: Cité antique de Numidie*. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, nouvelle série, 20. Paris.
- Bertini, F. 1974. *Autori latini in Africa sotto la dominazione vandalica*. Genoa.
- Beschaouch, A. 1981. "Le territoire de Sicca Veneria (El Kef), nouvelle Cirta, en Numidie Proconsulaire (Tunisie)." *CRAI*: 105–22.
- . 1995. "Note sur le territoire de Carthage sous le Haut-Empire." *CRAI*: 861–70.
- Bianco, G. 1971. *La fonte greca della metamorfosi di Apuleio*. Antichità Classica e Cristiana 10. Brescia.
- Biller, P., and A. Hudson. 1996. *Heresy and literacy, 1000–1530*. Cambridge.
- Bintliff, J., and K. Sbonias, eds. 1999. *Reconstructing past population trends in Mediterranean Europe (3000 BC–AD 1800)*. The Archaeology of Mediterranean Landscapes 1. Oxford.
- Blanchard-Lemée, M. 2003. "La domus et le quartier, approche de la structure du tissu urbain dans deux cités du centre de l'Afrique romaine." In *Actes du VIIIe colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord, Tabarka (Tunisie), 8–13 mai 2000*, ed. M. Khanoussi, 199–214. Tunis.
- Blanchard-Lemée, M., M. Ennaïfer, H. Slim, and L. Slim. 1996. *Mosaics of Roman Africa: Floor mosaics from Tunisia*. Trans. K. Whitehead. New York.
- Blanton, R. 1994. *Houses and households: A comparative study*. New York.
- . 2000. *Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine settlement patterns of the coast lands of western Rough Cilicia*. BAR International Series 879. Oxford.
- Blench, R. 1993. "Recent developments in African language classification and their implications for history." In *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, metals, and towns*, ed. T. Shaw, P. Sinclair, B. Andah, and A. Okpoko, 126–38. New York.
- Bogaert, P.-M. 1963. "Fragment inédit de Didyme l'Aveugle en traduction latine ancienne." *RB* 73: 9–16.
- . 1988. "La Bible latine des origines au Moyen Age." *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–159, 276–314.
- Bogaert, R. 1997. "La banque en Égypte Byzantine." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 16: 85–140.
- Bonifay, M. 2004. *Études sur la céramique romaine tardive d'Afrique*. BAR International Series 1301. Oxford.
- Bonifay, M., C. Capelli, and S. Polla. 2005. "Note de céramologie africaine: Observations archéologiques et archéométriques sur les céramiques modelées du groupe dit "Calcitic ware." *Ant. Afr.* 38–39 (2002–2003, published in 2005): 431–40.
- Bonnal, J.-P., and P.-A. Février. 1966–67. "Ostraka de la région de Bir Trouch." *Bulletin d'archéologie algérienne* 1–2: 239–49.
- Botte, B. 1982. *Les origines de la Noël et de l'Épiphanie*. Louvain.
- Boube-Piccot, C. 1987–88. "Anses de cruches bitronconiques à carene basse découvertes au Maroc." *Bulletin d'archéologie marocaine* 17: 231–55.
- . 1991. *Il Marocco e Roma: I grandi bronzi dal Museo di Rabat*. Rome.
- Bouhot, J.P. 1969. "Une source du sermon 'Caelebritas' (Pseudo-Ildéfonse, serm. 7)." *REAug* 15: 247–53.
- . 1980. "Une ancienne homélie catéchétique pour la tradition de l'oraison dominicale." *Augustinianum* 20: 69–78.
- . 1992. Review of Wenk, *Zur Sammlung der 38 Homilien des Chrysostomus Lat. Gnomon* 64.1: 63–64.

- . 2002. "Adaptations latines de l'homélie de Jean Chrysostome sur Pierre et Élie (CPG 4513)." *RB* 112: 36–71, 201–35.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. Cambridge, MA.
- Bourgeois, A. 1977. "La céramique." In *La maison de Vénus*, ed. G.C. Picard, C. Picard, A. Bourgeois, C. Bourgeois. Vol. 1 of *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Mactar*. Rome.
- Bowden, W., L. Lavan, and C. Machado, eds. 2004. *Recent research on the late antique countryside*. Leiden.
- Bowes, K.D. 2002. "Possessing the holy: Private churches and private piety in late antiquity." 2 vols. PhD diss., Princeton University.
- Brandes, W. 1999. "Byzantine cities in the seventh and eighth centuries—Different sources, different histories?" In *The idea and ideal of the town between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages*, ed. G.P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins, 25–58. *The Transformation of the Roman World* 4. Leiden.
- Brett, M. 1978. "The Arab conquests and the rise of Islam in North Africa." In *Cambridge History of Africa*, ed. D. Fage and R. Oliver, vol. 2. Cambridge.
- Brett, M., and E. Fentress. 1996. *The Berbers*. Oxford.
- Briese, M.B., and J. Lund. 2000. "The late and Neo-Punic period." In Ørsted et. al (2000), 217–24.
- Brogan, O., and D.J. Smith. 1984. *Ghirza: A Romano-Libyan settlement in Tripolitania*. Libyan Antiquities Series 1. Tripoli.
- Brogiolo, G.P., N. Gauthier, and N. Christie, eds. 2000. *Towns and their territories between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages*. Leiden.
- Broise, H., and Y. Thébert. 1993. *Les architectures*. Vol. 1, *Les thermes memmiens*. Vol. 2 of *Recherches archéologiques franco-tunisiennes à Bulla Regia*. Rome.
- Broughton, T.R.S. 1929. *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, new series, no. 5. Baltimore.
- Brouquier-Reddé, V. 1992. *Temples et cultes de Tripolitaine*. Études d'antiquités africaines. Paris.
- Brown, P. 1961. "Religious dissent in the later Roman empire: The case of North Africa." *History* 46: 83–101.
- . 1963. "Religious coercion in the later Roman empire: The case of North Africa." *History* 47: 283–305.
- . [1967] 2000. *Augustine of Hippo: A biography*. Berkeley.
- . 1968. "Christianity and local culture in late Roman Africa." *JRS* 58: 85–95.
- . 1971. *The world of late antiquity, AD 150–750*. New York.
- . 1972. *Religion and society in the age of Saint Augustine*. New York.
- . 1981. *The cult of the saints: Its rise and function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago.
- . 1992. *Power and persuasion in late antiquity: Towards a Christian empire*. Madison, WI.
- . 2002. *Poverty and leadership in the later Roman Empire*. The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures. Hanover.
- Buoye, T. 2000. *Manslaughter, markets, and moral economy: Violent disputes over property rights in eighteenth-century China*. New York.
- Burnham, B., and J. Wachter. 1990. *The small towns of Roman Britain*. London.
- Burns, T., and J. Eadie, eds. 2001. *Urban centers and rural contexts in late antiquity*. East Lansing, MI.
- Busch, S. 1999. *Versus balnearum: Die antike Dichtung über Bäder und Baden im römischen Reich*. Stuttgart.

- Cadenat, P. 1974. "La villa berbéro-romaine d'Ain-Sarb (Département de Tiaret, Algérie)." *Ant. Afr.* 8: 73–88.
- Calbi, A., A. Donati, and G. Poma, eds. 1993. *L'epigrafia del villaggio*. Epigrafia e Antichità 12. Faenza.
- Cameron, A. 1993. "The Byzantine reconquest of North Africa and the impact of Greek culture." *Graeco-Arabica* 5: 153–65. Reprinted in A. Cameron, *Changing cultures in early Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1996).
- . 2000. "Vandal and Byzantine Africa." In *Late antiquity: Empire and successors, AD 425–600*, ed. A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins, and M. Whitby, 552–69. Vol. 14 of *The Cambridge ancient history*, 2nd ed. Cambridge.
- Camps, G. 1982. "Beginnings of pastoralism and cultivation in north-west Africa and the Sahara: Origins of the Berbers." In *The Cambridge history of Africa*, ed. D. Fage and Roland Oliver, 1: 548–623. Cambridge.
- . 1984. "Rex gentium maurorum et romanorum: Recherches sur les royaumes de Maurétanie des VI^e et VII^e siècles." *Ant. Afr.* 20: 183–218.
- . 1993. "Réflexions sur l'origine protohistorique des cités en Afrique du Nord." In *La città mediterranea: Eredità antica e apporto arabo-islamico sulle rive del Mediterraneo occidentale e in particolare nel Maghreb* (Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Bari, 4–7 maggio 1988), ed. Luigi Serra, 73–81. Naples.
- . 1994. "Punica lingua et épigraphie libyque dans la Numidie d'Hippone." *BAC*, n.s., *Afrique du nord* 23: 33–49.
- Caner, D. 2002. *Wandering, begging monks: Spiritual authority and the promotion of monasticism in late antiquity*. Berkeley.
- Carcopino, J. 1918a. "Les castella de la plaine de Sétif." *Revue africaine* 59: 5–22.
- . 1918b. "Notes d'archéologie algérienne." *BAC*, 232–37.
- Carreté, J.-M., S. Keay, and M. Millett. 1995. *A Roman provincial capital and its hinterland: The survey of the territory of Tarragona, Spain, 1985–90*. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 15. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Carrié, J.-M. 1982. "Le colonat du Bas-Empire: Un mythe historiographique?" *Opus* 1: 351–70.
- Carrié, J.-M., and R. Lizzi Testa, eds. 2002. *Humana sapit: Études d'antiquité tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini*. Turnhout.
- Carucci, M. 2007. *The Romano-African domus: Studies in space, decoration, and function*. BAR International Series 1731. Oxford.
- Casey, P.J. 1986. *Understanding ancient coins: An introduction for archaeologists and historians*. Norman, OK.
- Chakrabarty, D. 2000. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial thought and historical difference*. Princeton, NJ.
- Charpentier, G. 1995. "Les petits bains proto-byzantins de la Syrie du Nord." *Topoi Orient-Occident* 5: 219–47.
- Chastagnol, A. 1981. "L'inscription constantinienne d'Orcistus." *MEFRA* 93: 881–946.
- . 1986. "La législation sur les biens des villes au IV^e siècle à la lumière d'une inscription d'Éphèse." *Atti dell'Accademia Romanistica Costantiniana, VI convegno internazionale*, 77–104. Reprinted in Chastagnol (1994), 143–69.
- . 1995. "Coloni et incolae." In *La Gaule romaine et le droit latin*, 131–41. Collection du Centre d'Études Romaines et Gallo-romaines n. s. 14. Lyon.
- Chastagnol, A., and N. Duval. 1974. "Les survivances du culte imperial dans l'Afrique à l'époque vandale." In *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à William Seston*, 87–118. Paris.

- Chelbi, F. 1992. *Céramique à vernis noir de Carthage*. Tunis.
- Cherif, Z. 1997. *Terres cuites puniques de Tunisie*. Corpus delle Antichità Fenicie e Puniche. Rome.
- Cherry, D. 1998. *Frontier and society in Roman North Africa*. Oxford.
- Chiesa, P. 1996. "Un testo agiografico africano ad Aquileia: Gli *Acta* di Gallonio e dei martiri di *Timida Regia*." *AB* 114: 241–68.
- Christie, N. 1996. "Barren fields?: Landscapes and settlements in late Roman and post-Roman Italy." In *Human landscapes in classical antiquity*, ed. G. Shipley and J. Salmon, 254–83. New York.
- Christol, M. 1994. "Les troubles en Maurétanie Césarienne sous le gouvernement de T. Licinius Hiérocclés." In *Le Bohec* (1994), 254–66.
- Christol, M., S. Demougin, Y. Duval, C. Lepelley, and L. Pietri, eds. 1992. *Institutions, société et vie politique dans l'Empire romain au IV^e siècle ap. J.-C.: Actes de la Table ronde autour de l'oeuvre d'André Chastagnol, Paris, 20–21 janvier 1989*. Rome.
- Cimma, M. 1989. *L'episcopalis audientia nelle costituzioni imperiali da Costantino a Giustiniano*. Turin.
- Ciotola, A. 2000. "Il materiale ceramico rinvenuto nella ricognizione attorno a Dougga (campagne 1994–1996): Una sintesi preliminare. In *De Vos* (2001), 58–66.
- Clark, E.G. 2001. "Town and country in late-antique preaching." In *Burns and Eadie* (2001), 265–84.
- Clover, F. 1982. "Carthage and the Vandals." In *Excavations at Carthage 1978, conducted by the University of Michigan VII*, ed. J.H. Humphrey, 1–22. Ann Arbor, MI. Reprinted in F. Clover, *The late Roman West and the Vandals* (Aldershot, 1993).
- . 2003. "Timekeeping and dyarchy in Vandal Africa." *Antiquité tardive* 11: 45–63.
- Cockle, H. 1981. "Pottery manufacture in Roman Egypt: A new papyrus." *JRS* 71: 87–67.
- Cohn, B. 1989. "Cloth, clothes, and colonialism: India in the nineteenth century." In *Cloth and human experience*, ed. A. Weiner and J. Schneider, 303–53. Washington, DC.
- Comaroff, Jean, and John Comaroff. 1997. *The dialectics of modernity on a South African frontier*. Vol. 2 of *Of revelation and revolution*. Chicago.
- Conant, J. "Literacy and private documentation in Vandal North Africa: The case of the Albertini Tablets." In *Merrills* (2004), 199–224.
- Cordsen, A., L. Holten, and H. Nielsen. 1995. "The archaeological excavations." In *Dietz, Sebai, and Habib* (1995), 1: 383–411.
- Courtois, C. 1954. "Ruines romaines du Cap Bon." *Karthago* 5: 181–202.
- . 1955. *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*. Paris.
- Courtois, C., L. Leschi, C. Perrat, and C. Saumagne. 1952. *Tablettes Albertini: Actes privés de l'époque vandale*. Paris.
- Crawford, M. 1970. "Money and exchange in the Roman world." *JRS* 60: 40–48.
- Cuena Boy, F.J. 1985. *La "episcopalis audientia"*. Valladolid.
- Curchin, L.A., A. Ennabli, and L. Neuru. 1998. "Surface survey at the Roman villa at Sidi Ghrib, Tunisia." *Echos du monde classique / Classical Views* 42, n. s. 17: 373–84.
- Dagron, G. 1979. "Entre village et cité: La bourgade rurale des IV^e-VII^e siècles en Orient." *Koinōnia* 3: 29–52.
- Daniels, R. 1995. "Punic influence in the domestic architecture of Roman Volubilis (Morocco)." *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 14.1: 79–96.
- Davis, N.Z. 1973. "The rites of violence." *Past and Present* 59: 51–91.
- . 1990. *Fiction in the archives: Pardon tales and their tellers in sixteenth-century France*. Stanford.
- Decret, F. 1996. *Le Christianisme en Afrique du Nord ancienne*. Paris.

- De Kind, R. 1998. *Houses in Herculaneum: A new view on the town planning and the building of Insulae III and IV*. Amsterdam.
- Dekkers, E. 1995. *Clavis patrum latinorum*. 3rd ed. CCSL. Turnhout.
- De Ligt, L. 1990. "Demand, supply, distribution: The Roman peasantry between town and countryside, I." *Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 9, 2: 24–56.
- . 1991. "Demand, supply, distribution: The Roman peasantry between town and countryside, II." *Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 10, 1: 33–77.
- . 1993a. *Fairs and markets in the Roman Empire: Economic and social aspects of periodic trade in a pre-industrial society*. Amsterdam.
- . 1993b. "The Nundinae of L. Bellicius Sollers." In *De agricultura: In memoriam Pieter Willem de Neeve (1945–1990)*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 238–62. Amsterdam.
- Delmaire, R. 1989. *Largesses sacrées et res privata: L'aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle*. Rome.
- Deloum, S. 1986. "Notes sur le trésor monétaire de M^r Sila (fine du Ve siècle début du VI^e siècle après J-C)." In *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatics: London, September 1986*, ed. I.A. Carradice, 305–14. London.
- Demarolle, J.-M., et al. 2003. "La production artisanale non-alimentaire en milieu rural dans la province romaine de Gaule Belgique: Bilan intermédiaire d'une recherche en cours." *Revue archéologique de Picardie* 1.1–2: 109–27.
- Demougeot, E. 1972. "Gallia I." In *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum; Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*, ed. T. Klausner, 8: 899–902. Stuttgart.
- Demsiri-Laadoua, L. 1997. *Les domaines impériaux en Afrique du Nord romaine: Étude de la géographie historique*. Villeneuve d'Ascq.
- Deneauve, J. 1969. *Lampes de Carthage*. Paris.
- Depeyrot, G. 1991. *Crises et inflation entre Antiquité et Moyen Âge*. Paris.
- . 1999. *Zilil I: Étude de numéraire*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 250. Rome.
- Desanges, J. 1963. "Un témoignage peu connu de Procope sur la Numidie vandale et byzantine." *Byzantion* 33: 41–69.
- . 1989. "Saltus et vicus P(h)osporianus en Numidie." *L'Africa romana* 6: 283–91.
- . 1990. "La toponymie de l'Afrique du Nord antique: Bilan des recherches depuis 1965." In *L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain*, 251–72. Rome.
- De Ste. Croix, G.E.M. 1981. *The class struggle in the ancient Greek world from the Archaic Age to the Arab conquests*. Ithaca, N.Y.
- De Vos, M., ed. 2000. *Rus africanum: Terra acqua olio nell' Africa settentrionale; Scavo e ricognizione nei dintorni di Dougga (alto tell tunisino)*. Trent.
- De Vos, M., and S. Polla. 2005. "Ceramica dai siti rurali intorno a Dougga (Tunisia settentrionale). In *LRCW I: Late Roman coarse wares, cooking wares, and amphorae in the Mediterranean; Archaeology and archaeometry*. Ed. J.M. Gurt Esparraguera, J. Buxeda i Garrigós, and M.A. Cau Ontiveros, 481–93. BAR International Series 1340. Oxford.
- De Vries, J. 2008. *The industrious revolution: Consumer behavior and the household economy, 1650 to the present*. Cambridge.
- Dietz, S. 1995. "A summary of the Field Project." In Dietz, Sebai, and Habib, 2: 773–99.
- Dietz, S., L.L. Sebai, and B. Habib. 1995. *Africa proconsularis: Regional studies in a Roman landscape*. 2 vols. Oakville, CT.
- Digeser, E. 2000. *The making of a Christian empire: Lactantius and Rome*. Ithaca, N.Y.
- Di Vita, A. 1966. "La villa della 'gara delle Nereidi' presso Tagiura." *Libya antiqua* Suppl.

- Divjak, J., ed. 1983. *Les lettres de Saint Augustin découvertes par Johannes Divjak*. Communications Présentées au Colloque des 20 et 21 Septembre 1982. Paris.
- Dodds, E.R. 1965. *Pagan and christian in an age of anxiety*. Cambridge.
- Dolbeau, F. 1991. “Nouveaux sermons de Saint Augustin pour la conversion des païens et des donatistes (II).” *REAug* 37: 261–306. Reprinted in Dolbeau (1996).
- . 1995a. “Par qui et dans quelles circonstances fut prononcé le sermon 360 d’Augustin?” *RB* 105: 293–307.
- . 1995b. “Un sermon inédit d’origine africaine pour la fête des Saintes Perpétue et Félicité.” *AB* 113: 89–106.
- . 1996. *Augustin d’Hippone, Vingt-six sermons au peuple d’Afrique, retrouvés à Mavence*. Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 147. Paris.
- . 1997. “Sur deux sermonnaires latins, jadis conservés à Lorsch.” *RB* 112: 236–45.
- . 2000. “Un opuscule latin contre les Manichéens, placé sous le nom d’Augustin.” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2: 232–54. Reprinted in Dolbeau (2005).
- . 2001. “Sept sermons antiques tirés d’un homélaire latin d’Olomouc.” *RB* 111: 353–98.
- . 2002. “À propos des sermons d’Olomouc: Un post-scriptum.” *RB* 112: 236–45.
- . 2003a. “À propos d’un *Agraphon*: Reflexions sur la transmission de l’homilétique latine antique, avec édition du sermon ‘Sermo Sacerdotis Dei.’” *Classical Philology* 98.2: 160–74. Reprinted in Dolbeau (2005).
- . 2003b. “Un sermon anonyme pour l’Ascension, reflétant la pastorale anti-donatiste d’Augustin.” In *Consuetudinis amor: Fragments d’histoire romaine (ii^e3 – vi^e siècles) offerts à Jean-Pierre Callu*, ed. F. Chausson et É. Wolff, 231–50. Saggi di Storia Antica 19. Rome.
- . 2004. “Une ancienne catéchèse latine, peut-être originaire d’Afrique.” In *Chartae caritatis: Études de patristique et d’antiquité tardive en hommage à Yves-Marie Duval*, 299–319. Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 173. Paris.
- . 2005. *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique: Recherches sur divers sermons authentiques, apocryphes ou anonymes*. Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 179. Paris.
- Dolbeau, F., and R. Étaix. 2003. “Le ‘jour des torches’ (24 juin): D’après un sermon inédit d’origine africaine.” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 5: 243–59.
- Dolbeau, F., and É. Poirot. 1994. “Sur les miracles d’Élie et d’Élisée (CPL 1155e).” *Sacris Erudiri: Jaarboek* 34: 135–64.
- Dore, J. 1996. “The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey pottery.” In Barker and Mattingly (1996), 2: 319–81.
- Dore, J., and N. Keay. 1989. *The finds: Part 1, The amphorae, coarse pottery, and building materials*. Vol. 2 of *Excavations at Sabratha, 1948–1951*. London.
- Dossey, L. 2001. “Judicial violence and the ecclesiastical courts in late antique North Africa.” In *Law, society, and authority in late antiquity*, ed. R. Mathisen, 98–114. Oxford.
- . 2003. “The last days of Vandal Africa: An Arian commentary on Job and its historical context.” *Journal of Theological Studies* 54: 60–138.
- Downs, M. “Refiguring colonial categories on the Roman frontier in southern Spain.” In *Romanization and the city: Creation, transformations, and failures; Proceedings of a conference held at the American Academy in Rome to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the excavations at Cosa, 14–16 May, 1998*, ed. E. Fentress. JRA Supplement 38. Portsmouth.
- Drinkwater, J.F. 1989. “Patronage in Roman Gaul and the problem of the Bagaudae.” In

- Patronage in ancient society*, ed. A. Wallace-Hadrill, 189–204. New York.
- Duchesne, L. 1920. *Origines du culte chrétien: Étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne*. 5th ed. Paris.
- Dunbabin, K. 1978. *The mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in iconography and patronage*. Oxford.
- . 1995. “Scenes from the Roman *convivium*: Frigida non derit, non derit calda petenti (Martial xiv. 105).” In *In Vino Veritas*, ed. O. Murray and M. Tecusan, 252–65. London.
- Duncan-Jones, R. 1963. “City population in Roman Africa.” *JRS* 53: 85–90.
- . 1974. *The economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative studies*. Cambridge.
- Dunn, A. 2004. “Continuity and change in the Macedonian countryside.” In Bowden, Lavan, and Machado (2004), 535–86.
- . 2005. “The problem of the early Byzantine village in eastern and northern Macedonia.” In Lefort, Morrisson, and Sodini (2005), 267–78.
- Durliat, J. 1981. *Les dédicaces d'ouvrages de défense dans l'Afrique byzantine*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 49. Rome.
- . 1990. *Les finances publiques de Dioclétien aux Carolingiens* (284–889). Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke.
- Duval, N. 1964. “Observations sur l'urbanisme tardif de Sufetula (Tunisie).” *Les cahiers de Tunisie* 12: 87–106.
- . 1971. “Influences byzantines sur la civilisation chrétienne de l'Afrique du Nord.” *Revue des études latines* 49: 6–7.
- . 1974. “Une nouvelle édition des listes épiscopales africaines.” *REAug* 20: 313–22.
- . 1987. “Une basilique chrétienne à deux absides à Sabratha (Tripolitaine)?” *REAug.* 33: 269–301.
- . 1996. “Les systèmes de datation dans l'Est de l'Afrique du Nord à la fin de l'antiquité et à l'époque Byzantine.” *Ktema* 18: 189–211.
- . 2002. “Deux mythes de l'iconographie de l'Antiquité tardive: La villa fortifiée et le ‘chasseur vandale’: Le ‘chasseur barbare’ de Borj Jedid et sa ‘villa.’” In Carrié and Lizzi Testa (2002), 333–40.
- Duval, N., and P.-A. Février. 1972. “Le décor des monuments chrétiens d'Afrique (Algerie, Tunisie).” In *Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Cristiana, Barcelona, 5–11 octubre 1969*, 5–55. Barcelona.
- Duval, N., L. Slim, M. Bonifay, A. Bonnifay, J. Piton, and A. Bourgeois. 2002. “La céramique africaine aux époques vandale et byzantine.” *Antiquité tardive* 10: 177–95.
- Duval, Y. 1982. *Loca sanctorum Africae: Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IV^e au VII^e siècle*. 2 vols. Collection de l'École Française de Rome, no. 58. Rome.
- . 1984. “Densité et répartition des évêchés dans les provinces africaines au temps de Cyprien.” *MEFRA* 96.1: 493–521.
- Duval, Y., and L. Pietri. 1992. “Peuple chrétien ou plebs: Le rôle des laïcs dans les élections ecclésiastiques en Occident.” In Christol et al. (1992), 373–95.
- Dyer, C. 1989. *Standard of living in the later Middle Ages: Social change in England c. 1200–1520*. Cambridge.
- Dyson, S. 1992. *Community and society in Roman Italy*. Baltimore.
- Eck, W. 1983. “Der Episkopat im späntantiken Africa: Organisatorische Entwicklung, soziale Herkunft und öffentliche Funktionen.” *Historische Zeitschrift* 236: 265–95.
- Edmondson, J.C. 1989. “Mining in the later Roman empire and beyond: Continuity or disruption?” *JRS* 79: 84–102.
- Edwards, M. 1999. “The flowering of Latin apologetic: Lactantius and Arnobius.” In *Apologetics in the Roman empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians*, ed. M. Edwards, M.

- Goodman, S. Price, and C. Rowland, 197–221. Oxford.
- Eichner, I. 2009. *Frühbyzantinische Wohnhäuser in Kilikien: Baugeschichtliche Untersuchung zu den Wohnformen in der Region um Seleukeia am Kalykadnos*. Istanbul: Forschungen 52. Berlin.
- Ellis, S. 2005. “Byzantine villages in North Africa.” In Lefort, Morrisson, and Sodini (2005), 89–100.
- Elm, S. 1994. *Virgins of God: The making of asceticism in late antiquity*. Oxford.
- Elmayer, A.F. 1985. “The ‘centenaria’ of Roman Tripolitania.” *Libyan Studies* 16: 77–84.
- El-Nemsi, M. Abd El-Aziz. 1997. “Leptis Magna, excavation at ez-Zeita (Wadi Zennad), 1996–1997.” *Libya antiqua*, n.s., 3: 207–11.
- Empereur, J.-Y., and M. Picon. 1986. “À propos d’un nouvel atelier de Late Roman C.” *Figlina* 7: 143–46.
- Ennabli, L. 1986. “Les thermes des thiasés marines de Sidi Ghrib (Tunisie).” *Mon Piot* 68: 1–59.
- Erdkamp, P. 1999. “Agriculture, underemployment, and the cost of rural labour in the Roman world.” *CQ*, n.s., 49: 556–72.
- Esmonde Cleary, A.S. 1989. *The ending of Roman Britain*. London.
- Étaix, R. 1971. “Sermon pour l’Épiphanie tiré d’un homiliaire en écriture de Luxeuil.” *RB* 81: 7–13.
- . 1982. “Textes inédits tirés des homiliaires de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Bénévent.” *RB* 92: 324–57.
- . 1994. *Homélieres patristiques latins*. Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes 29. Paris.
- Étaix R., and B. de Vregille. 1982. “Le libellus bisontin du XI siècle pour les fêtes de Saint Étienne.” *AB* 100: 581–605.
- Euzennat, M. 1989. *Le limes de Tingitane: La frontière méridionale*. Paris.
- Evans, J. 2000. “The end of Roman pottery in the north.” In *The late Roman transition in the north: Papers from the Roman archaeology conference, Durham 1999*, ed. T. Wilmott and T. Wilson. BAR British Series 299. Oxford.
- Evers, A.W. 2001. “Churches, cities, and people: A study of the *plebs* within the church and cities of Roman Africa in the works of Cyprian, Optatus, and Augustine.” PhD diss., University of Oxford.
- Fantar, M. 1984–86. *Kerkouane, cité punique du cap Bon (Tunisie)*. 3 vols. Tunis.
- Felici, F., and Pentirici, M. 2002. “Per una definizione delle dinamiche economiche e commerciali del territorio di Leptis Magna.” In *L’Africa romana: Lo spazio marittimo del Mediterraneo occidentale, geografia storica ed economia; Atti del XIV convegno di studio, Sassari, 7–10 dicembre 2000*, ed. M. Khanoussi, P. Ruggeri, and C. Vismara, 246–63. Rome.
- Fentress, E. 1979. *Numidia and the Roman army: Social, military, and economic aspects of the frontier zone*. BAR International Series, no. 53. Oxford.
- . 1981. “African building: Money, politics, and crisis in Auzia.” In *The Roman West in the third century: Contributions from archeology and history*, ed. A. King and M. Henig, 199–210. Oxford.
- . 1989. “Sétif : Les thermes du Ve siècle.” *L’Africa Romana* 6: 321–37.
- . 1990. “The economy of an inland city: Sétif.” In *L’Afrique dans l’Occident romain*, 117–28. Rome.
- . 2000. “The Jerba Survey: Settlement in the Punic and Roman periods.” In *L’Africa romana: Atti del XIII convegno di studio, Djerba, 10–13 dicembre 1998*, ed. M. Khanoussi, P. Ruggeri, and C. Vismara, 73–85. Rome.

- . 2001. "Villas, wine, and kilns: The landscape of Jerba in the late Hellenistic period." *JRA* 14: 249–68.
- . 2006. "Romanizing the Berbers." *Past and Present* 190: 3–33.
- . 2008. "North Africa: Rural settlement and agricultural production." In Van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard (2008), 101–28.
- Fentress, E., A. Ait-Kaci, and N. Bounssair. 1993. "Prospections dans le Belezma: Rapport préliminaire." In *Actes du colloque international sur l'histoire de Sétif (Sétif 8, 9 et 10 décembre 1990)*, 107–27. Algiers.
- Fentress, E., A. Drine, and R. Holod. 2009. *An island through time: Jerba studies*. Vol. 1, *The Punic and Roman periods*. JRA Supplement 71. Portsmouth.
- Fentress, E., S. Fontana, R.B. Hitchner, and P. Perkins. 2004. "Accounting for ARS: Fineware and sites in Sicily and Africa." In *Side-by-side survey: Comparative regional studies in the Mediterranean world*, ed. S. Alcock and J. Cherry, 147–62. Oxford.
- Fentress, E., and P. Perkins. 1988. "Counting African Red Slip Ware." *L'Africa romana* 5: 205–14.
- Ferchiou, N. 1990. "L'habitat fortifié pre-impérial en Tunisie antique: Aperçus sur la typologie des sites perchés et des sites de versant, illustrés par quelques exemples à Carthage et son territoire dans l'antiquité." *Ant. Afr.* 26: 43–86.
- . 1995a. "Architecture funéraire de Tunisie à l'époque romaine." In Troussset (1995), 111–38.
- . 1995b. "Camps et vétérans dans la moyenne vallée de l'oued Miliane: Les *pagi* Fortunalis et Mercurialis et la colonie d'Uthina." *MEFRA* 107, 1: 137–81.
- Ferdi, S. 2005. "Saint Augustin en visite pastorale dans les campagnes d'Hippone." In *Saint Augustin, la Numidie et la société de son temps: Actes du colloque Sempam-Ausonius, Bordeaux, 10–11 octobre 2003*, ed. S. Lancel, 109–13. Paris.
- Ferdière, A. 1999. "L'artisanat gallo-romain entre ville et campagne (histoire et archéologie)." In Polfer (1999), 9–24.
- Février, P.-A. 1964. "Notes sur le développement urbain en Afrique du Nord: Les exemples comparés de Djémila et de Sétif." *Cahiers archéologiques, Fin de l'Antiquité et Moyen Âge* 14: 1–47.
- . 1966. "Inscriptions inédites relatives aux domaines de la région de Sétif." In *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à André Piganiol*, ed. R. Chevallier, 5.1: 217–28. Paris.
- . 1982a. "Le fait urbain dans le Maghreb du III^e siècle: Les signes d'une crise?" In *150-Jahr-Feier Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Ansprachen und Vorträge, 4.-7. Dezember 1979*, 50–76. Mainz.
- . 1982b. "Urbanisation et urbanisme de l'Afrique romaine." *ANRW* 10.2: 321–96.
- . 1983. "Discours d'Église et réalité historique dans les nouvelles lettres de Saint Augustin." In Divjak (1983), 101–15.
- Février, P.-A., and P. Leveau, eds. 1982. *Villes et campagnes dans l'Empire romain: Actes du colloque organisé à Aix-en-Provence par l'U.E.R. d'histoire, les 16 et 17 mai, 1980*. Aix-en-Provence.
- Fikhman, I.F. 1969. "Grundfragen der handwerklichen Produktion in Ägypten vom 4. bis zur Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts u. Z." *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 4: 149–71.
- Finkelstein, I., Z. Lederman, and S. Bunimovitz. 1997. *Highlands of many cultures: The Southern Samaria Survey; The sites*. 2 vols. Tel Aviv.
- Finley, M. [1973] 1999. *The ancient economy*. Updated ed. with foreword by I. Morris. Berkeley.
- Fontaine, J. 1983. *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*. 2nd ed. 3 vols. Paris.

- Foster, H., and C. Jackson. 2009. "The composition of 'naturally coloured' late Roman vessel glass from Britain and the implications for models of glass production and supply." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36.2: 189–204.
- Francovich, R., and H. Patterson, eds. 2000. *Extracting meaning from ploughsoil assemblages*. The Archaeology of Mediterranean Landscapes 5. Oxford.
- Frede, H. 1995. *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel*. 4th ed. Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 1.1. Freiburg.
- Freed, J. 1998. "Pottery report." In *Carthage papers: The early colony's economy, water supply, a public bath, and the mobilization of state olive oil*, ed. J.T. Pena et al., 13–63. JRA Supplement 28. Portsmouth.
- Frend, W.H.C. 1952. *The Donatist church: A movement of protest in Roman North Africa*. Oxford.
- . 1956. "A third-century inscription relating to *angareia* in Phrygia." *JRS* 46: 46–56.
- . 1969. "Circumcellions and monks." *JTS*, n.s., 20: 542–49.
- . 1982. "Donatist and Catholic: The organization of Christian communities in the North African countryside." In *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell' Alto Medioevo: Espansione e resistenze*. Settimane di Studio 28. Spoleto.
- . 1983. "Fussala, Augustine's crisis of credibility (Epist. 20*)." In Divjak (1983), -251–65.
- . 1984. "A note on religion and life in a Numidian village in the later Roman empire." *BAC*, n.s., *Afrique du nord* 17b: 261–67.
- Frier, B., and D. Kehoe, "Law and economic institutions." In Scheidel, Morris, and Saller (2007), 113–43.
- Fulford, M.G. 1983. "Pottery and economy of Carthage." *Opus* 2: 1–14.
- . 1989a. "The economy of Roman Britain." In *Research on Roman Britain, 1960–89*, ed. M. Todd, 174–201. Britannia Monograph Series 11. London.
- . 1989b. "To east and west: The Mediterranean trade of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in antiquity." *Libyan Studies* 20: 169–91.
- Fulford, M.G., and D.P.S. Peacock. 1984. *Excavations at Carthage: The British mission*. Vol. I.2, *The Avenue du President Habib Bourguiba, Salamambo: The pottery and other ceramic objects from the site*. Sheffield.
- . 1994. *Excavations at Carthage: The British mission*. Vol. II.2, *The circular harbour, north side: The pottery*. Oxford.
- Fülle, G. 1997. "The internal organization of the Arretine terra sigillata industry: Problems of evidence and interpretation." *JRS* 87: 111–55.
- Gabillon, A., and C. Lepelley. 1987. "Notes complémentaires (Lettre 9*)." In *Lettres* 1*–29* ed. J. Divjak. Vol. 46B of *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin*. Paris.
- Gaddis, M. 2005. *There is no crime for those who have Christ: Religious violence in the Christian Roman empire*. Berkeley.
- Gallego, J. 2007. "Farming in the ancient Greek world: How should the small free producers be defined?" *Studia humaniora Tartuensia* 8.A.3: 1–21.
- Galvao-Sobrinho, C.R. 1995. "Funerary epigraphy and the spread of Christianity in the West." *Athenaeum*, n.s., 83: 431–62.
- Garnsey, P. 1976. "Peasants in ancient Roman society." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 3: 221–35. Reprinted in *Cities, peasants, and food in classical antiquity*, ed. P. Garnsey and W. Scheidel (Cambridge, 1998).
- . 1978. "Rome's African empire under the Principate." In *Imperialism in the ancient world*, ed. P. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker, 223–54. Cambridge.
- . 1979. "Where did Italian peasants live?" *Proceedings of the Cambridge*

- Philosophical Society 295: 1–25.
- . 1988. *Famine and food supply in the Graeco-Roman world*. Cambridge.
- Garraffo, S. 1978–1979 [1987]. “Nuove ricerche numismatiche a Sabratha e a Leptis Magna.” *Libya antiqua* 15–16: 101–11.
- Gascou, J. 1972. *La politique municipale de l’Empire romain en Afrique Proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime-Sévère*. Collection de l’École Française de Rome 8. Rome.
- . 1979. “L’emploi du terme *respublica* dans l’épigraphie latine d’Afrique.” *MEFRA* 91: 383–98.
- . 1982a. “La politique municipale de Rome en Afrique du Nord I: De la mort d’Auguste au début du IIIe siècle.” *ANRW* 10.2: 136–229.
- . 1982b. “Politique municipale de Rome en Afrique du Nord II: Après la mort de Septime-Sévère.” *ANRW* 10.2: 230–318.
- . 1983. “Pagus et castellum dans la Confédération cirtéenne.” *Ant. Afr.* 19: 175–207.
- . 1985. “Les grands domaines, la cité et l’État en Egypte byzantine (5e, 6e, et 7e s.).” *Travaux et mémoire: Centre de Recherche d’Histoire et Civilisation Byzantine* 9: 1–90.
- . 1998. “Remarques sur les *undecimprimi*.” *Ant. Afr.* 34: 93–102.
- Gatier, P.L. 1994. “Villages du Proche-Orient protobyzantin (4ème -7ème s.): Étude régionale.” In *Land use and settlement patterns: Papers of the Second Workshop on Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, ed. G.R.D. King and A. Cameron, 17–48. Princeton, NJ.
- . 2005. “Les villages du Proche-Orient protobyzantin: Nouvelles perspectives (1994–2004).” In Lefort, Morrisson, and Sodini (2005), 101–19.
- Gauckler, P. 1910. *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l’Afrique*. Vol. 2, *Mosaïques de l’Afrique (Tunisie)*. Paris.
- Gaudemet, J. 1958. *L’Église dans l’Empire romain du IV^e et V^e siècles*. Histoire du Droit et des Institutions de l’Église en Occident 3. Paris.
- . 1979. *Les élections dans l’Église latine des origines au XVI^e siècle*. Institutions, Société, Histoire 2. Paris.
- Gebbia, C. 1988. “Ancora sulle ‘rivolte’ di Firmo e Gildone.” *L’Africa romana* 5: 117–29.
- . 1989. “Sant’Agostino e l’episcopalis audientia.” *L’Africa romana* 6: 683–95.
- Geerard, M. 1974–. *Clavis patrum graecorum*. 4 vols. Turnhout.
- Geerard, M., J. Noret, F. Glorie, and J.-P. Desmet. 1998. *Clavis patrum graecorum: Supplementum*. Turnhout.
- Gelichi, S., and M. Milanese. 2001. “La trasformazione degli spazi pubblici di una città dell’proconsolare dal V al VII secolo: Nuovi dati sull’abitato di Uchi Maius (Tunisia).” In *Società multiculturali nei secoli V-IX: Scontri, convivenza, integrazione nel Mediterraneo occidentale*, ed. M. Rotili, 337–52. Naples.
- Gentili, G.V. 1959. *La villa Erculia di Piazza Armerina: I mosaici figurati*. Milan.
- Ghaki, M. 1999. *Les haouanet de Sidi Mhamed Latrech*. Tunis.
- Ghalia, T. 2002. “L’architecture religieuse en Tunisie aux 5^e et 6^e siècles.” *Antiquité tardive* 10: 213–22.
- Gibbon, E. 1776–88. *The decline and fall of the Roman empire*. 3 vols. New York.
- Gil Egea, M.E. 1998. *África en tiempos de los Vándalos: Continuidad y mutaciones de las estructuras sociopolíticas romanas*. Memorias del Seminario de Historia Antigua 7. Los Almdendros.
- Giliberti, G. 1999. *Servi della terra: Ricerche per una storia del colonato*. Turin.
- Gitler, H., and D. Weisburd. 2005. “Coin finds from villages in Palestine during the late Roman and Byzantine periods (A.D. 383–696/7): A quantitative examination of monetary distributions.” In Lefort, Morrisson, and Sodini (2005), 539–52.
- Giuffrè, V. 1999. *Studi sul debito: Tra esperienza romana e ordinamenti moderni*. 2nd ed.

- Naples.
- Goibert, E.G., and P. Cintas. 1941. "Smirat." *Revue tunisienne* 45–47: 83–121.
- Goehring, J.E. 1999. *Ascetics, society, and the desert: Studies in Egyptian monasticism*. Harrisburg, PA.
- Goffart, W. 1974. *Caput and colonate: Towards a history of late Roman taxation*. Toronto.
- Goodchild, R.G. 1950. "The Limes Tripolitanus II." *JRS* 40: 30–38. Reprinted in *Libyan Studies: Selected papers of the late R.G. Goodchild*, ed. J. Reynolds, 35–45 (London, 1976).
- Gottlob, T. 1928. *Der abendländische Chorespikopat*. Kanonistische Studien und Texte 1. Bonn.
- Gozlan, S. 1971–72. "La maison de Neptune à Acholla-Botria (Tunisie): Problèmes posés par l'architecture et le mode de construction." *Karthago* 16: 42–99.
- Graham, S.R. 2005. "The dissemination of North African Christian and intellectual culture in late antiquity." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.
- Greene, J.A. 1986. "The Carthaginian countryside: Archaeological reconnaissance in the hinterland of ancient Carthage." PhD diss., University of Chicago.
- . 1992. "Une reconnaissance archéologique dans l'arrière-pays de la Carthage antique." In *Pour sauver Carthage: Exploration et conservation de la cité punique, romaine et byzantine*, ed. A. Ennabli, 194–97. Paris.
- Grégoire, R. 1966. *Les homéliaires du moyen âge*. Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, series maior, fontes 6. Rome.
- . 1980. *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: Analyse de manuscrits*. Spoleto.
- Grierson, P. 1959. "The Tablettes Albertini and the value of the *solidus* in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D." *JRS* 49: 73–80.
- Griffiths, J.G. 1975. Introduction to *The Isis-book: Metamorphoses, book XI*, by Apuleius of Madauros. Leiden.
- Grinder-Hansen, K. 1995. "The numismatic material." In Dietz, Sebai, and Habib (1995), 632–47.
- Grubbs, J. 1995. *Law and family in late antiquity: The emperor Constantine's marriage legislation*. Oxford.
- Gryson, R. 1999. *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel; Aktualisierungsheft 1999*. Vetus Latina 1/1C. Freiburg.
- . 2004. *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Sigel; Aktualisierungsheft 2004*. Vetus Latina 1/1D. Freiburg.
- . 2007. *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de l'antiquité et du haut moyen-âge*. 2 vols. Vetus Latina 1/1⁵. Freiburg.
- Gsell, S. 1911. *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie: Édition spéciale des cartes au 200,000e du service géographique de l'armée, avec un texte explicatif*. Algiers.
- Gsell, S., and H. Graillot. 1894. "Exploration archéologique dans le département de Constantine (Algérie)—Ruines romaines au nord de l'Aurès (suite)." *MEFRA* 14: 501–95.
- Gualtieri, M., and F. de Polignac. 1991. "A rural landscape in western Lucania." In Barker and Lloyd (1991), 194–203.
- Guéry, R. 1985. *La nécropole orientale de Sitifis (Sétif, Algérie): Fouilles de 1966–1967*. Études d'Antiquités Africaines. Paris.
- Guha, R. 1988. "The prose of counter-insurgency." In *Selected subaltern studies*, ed. R. Guha and G. Spivak, 345–88. New York.
- . 1999. *Elementary aspects of peasant insurgency in colonial India*. Durham and London.
- Gui, I., N. Duval, and J.-P. Caillet. 1992. *Inventaire de l'Algérie*. Vol. 1. of *Basiliques*

- chrétiennes d'Afrique du Nord (*Inventaire et typologie*). Paris.
- Guru, G. 1993. "Dalit movement in mainstream sociology." *Economic and Political Weekly* 28, no. 14.
- Hansen, C.G. 1995. "Architectural studies." In Dietz, Sebai, and Habib (1995) 2: 179–379.
- Harl, K. 1996. *Coinage in the Roman economy, 300 B.C. to A.D. 700*. Baltimore.
- Harmless, W. 1995. *Augustine and the catechumenate*. Collegeville, MN.
- Harnack, A. von. 1903. *Der pseudocyprianische Traktat De singularitate clericorum, ein Werk des Donatistischen Bischofs Macrobius von Rom*. TU 24.3. Berlin.
- Harper, G.M., Jr. 1928. *Village administration in the Roman province of Syria*. Princeton, NJ.
- Harries, J. 1992. "Christianity and the city in late Roman Gaul." In *The city in late antiquity*, ed. J. Rich, 77–98. New York.
- Harris, W. 1989. *Ancient literacy*. Cambridge, MA.
- Harrison, M., and W. Young. 2001. *Mountain and plain: From the Lycian coast to the Phrygian plateau in the late Roman and early Byzantine period*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Harrison, S.J. 2000. *Apuleius: A Latin sophist*. Oxford.
- Hayes, J.W. 1972. *Late Roman pottery*. London.
- . 2001. "Late Roman fine wares and their successors: A Mediterranean Byzantine perspective (with reference to the Syro-Jordanian situation)." In *La céramique byzantine et proto-islamique en Syrie-Jordanie (IVe–VIIIe siècles apr. J.-C.)*, *Actes du colloque tenu à Amman les 3, 4, et 5 décembre 1994*, ed. E. Villeneuve and P.M. Watson, 275–87. Beirut.
- Hays, G. " 'Romuleis Libicisque litteris': Fulgentius and the 'Vandal Renaissance.' " In Merrills (2004), 101–32.
- Heather, P. 1998. "Senators and senates." In *The late empire, A.D. 337–425*, ed. A. Cameron and P. Garnsey, 184–210. Vol. 18 of *The Cambridge ancient history*. 2nd ed. Cambridge.
- Heid, S. 2001. *Celibacy in the early church: The beginnings of obligatory continence for clerics in east and west*. Trans. M. Miller. San Francisco.
- Heil, U. 2007. "Augustin-Rezeption im Reich der Vandalen: Die Altercatio sancti Augustini cum Pascentio Arriano." *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum* 11: 6–29.
- Hermanowicz, E. 2008. *Possidius of Calama: A study of the North African episcopate at the time of Augustine*. Oxford.
- Hess, H. 1958. *The canons of the council of Sardica*. Oxford.
- Himmelman, N. 1973. *Typologische Untersuchungen an römischen Sarkophagreliefs des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Mainz.
- Hingley, R. 1989. *Rural settlement in Roman Britain*. London.
- . 1997. "Resistance and domination in Roman Britain." In *Dialogues in Roman imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman empire*, ed. D.J. Mattingly, 81–100. JRA Supplementary 23. Portsmouth.
- . 2005. *Globalizing Roman culture: Unity, diversity, and empire*. New York.
- Hirschfeld, Y. 1992. *The Judean desert monasteries in the Byzantine period*. New Haven, CT.
- . 1995. *The Palestinian dwelling in the Roman-Byzantine period*. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Minor 34. Jerusalem.
- . 1997. "Farms and villages in Byzantine Palestine." *DOP* 51: 33–71.
- . 2003. "Social aspects of the late antique village of Shivta." *JRA* 16: 395–408.
- . 2005. "The expansion of rural settlement during the fourth-fifth centuries CE in Palestine." In Lefort, Morrisson, and Sodini (2005), 523–37.
- Hitchner, R.B. 1982. "Studies in the history and archaeology of Sufetula and its *territorium* down to the Vandal conquest." PhD diss., University of Michigan.

- . 1988. "The Kasserine Archaeological Survey, 1982–86." *Ant. Afr.* 24: 7–41.
- . 1989. "The organization of rural settlement in the Cillium-Thelepte region (Kasserine, central Tunisia)." *L'Africa romana* 6: 387–402.
- . 1990. "The Kasserine Archaeological Survey, 1987." *Ant. Afr.* 26: 231–60.
- . 1992/1993. "The Kasserine Archaeological Survey, 1982–85." *Africa: Fouilles, monuments et collections archéologiques en Tunisie* 11/12: 158–98.
- . 1994. "Image and reality: Pastoralism in the Tunisian high steppe in the Roman and late antique period." In *Landuse in the Roman empire*, ed. J. Carlsen, P. Ørsted, and J.E. Skjdsgaard, 27–43. Rome.
- . 2005. "The advantages of wealth and luxury: The case for economic growth in the Roman empire." In *The ancient economy: Evidence and models*, ed. J.G. Manning and I. Morris. Stanford.
- Hodder, I. 1986. *Reading the past: Current approaches to interpretation in archaeology*. Cambridge.
- Hoftijzer, J., K. Jongeling, R. Steiner, B. Porten, A.M. Moshavi, and C.-F. Jean, 1995. *Dictionary of north-west Semitic inscriptions*. 2 vols. Leiden.
- Hopkins, K. 1980. "Taxes and trade in the Roman empire (200 B.C.–A.D. 400)." *JRS* 70: 101–25.
- Horden, P., and N. Purcell. 2000. *The corrupting sea: A study of Mediterranean history*. Oxford.
- Hugoniot, C. 2003. *Les spectacles de l'Afrique romaine: Une culture officielle municipale sous l'Empire romain*. 3 vols. Lille.
- Humbert, M. 1983. "Enfants à louer ou à vendre: Augustin et l'autorité parentale (*Ep.* 10* et 24*)." In Divjak (1983), 189–203.
- Humphries, M. 1999. *Communities of the blessed: Social environment and religious change in northern Italy, c. 250–400*. Oxford.
- Hurst, H. 1999. *The sanctuary of Tanit at Carthage in the Roman period: A re-interpretation*. Journal of Roman Archaeology, Suppl. 30. Portsmouth.
- Hurst, H., and S.P. Roskams. 1984. *Excavations at Carthage: The British mission*. Vol. I.1, *The Avenue du President Habib Bourguiba, Salamambo: The site and finds other than pottery*. Sheffield.
- Isola, A. 1990. *I cristiani dell'Africa vandalica nei sermones del tempo (429–534)*. Milan.
- Izzo, D. 1993. "Di un 'fundus' di Teano Sidicino in Africa." *Athenaeum* 81: 269–75.
- Jacques, F. 1984. *Le privilège de liberté: Politique impériale et autonomie municipale dans les cités de l'Occident romain (161–244)*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 76. Rome.
- . 1990. *Les cités de l'Occident romain: Du Ier siècle avant J.-C. au VIe siècle après J.-C.* Paris.
- . 1992. "Propriétés impériales et cités en Numidie méridionale." *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 3: 125–39.
- Jaubert, H. 1913. *Anciens évêchés et ruines chrétiennes de la Numidie et de la Sitifienne*. Société Archéologique, Historique et Géographique du Département de Constantine. Recueil des Notices et Mémoires, sér. 5, 46. Constantine.
- Johne, K.-P., J. Köhn, and V. Weber, eds. 1983. *Die Kolonen in Italien und den westlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches*. Berlin.
- Johnson, A.C., P.R. Coleman-Norton, and F.C. Bourne. 1961. *Ancient Roman statutes*. Austin, TX.
- Jones, A.H.M. 1931. "The urbanization of the Ituraean principalities." *JRS* 21: 265–75.
- . 1964. *The later Roman empire 284–602: A social, economic, and administrative*

- survey. 2 vols. Baltimore.
- Jongman, W. 2007. "The early Roman empire: Consumption." In Scheidel, Morris, and Saller (2007), 592–618.
- Justice, S. 1994. *Writing and rebellion: England in 1381*. Berkeley.
- Kallala, N., et al. 2008. "Recherches sur l'occupation d'Althiburos (region du Kef, Tunisie) et de ses environs à l'époque numide." *Pyrenae* 39.1: 67–113.
- Kay, N.M. 2006. *Epigrams from the Anthologia Latina: Text, translation, and commentary*. London.
- Keay, S.J. 1984. *Late Roman amphorae in the western Mediterranean: A typology and economic study; The Catalan evidence*. BAR International Series 196. Oxford.
- . 1988. *Roman Spain*. Berkeley.
- Keenleyside, A., H. Schwarcz, L. Stirling, and N. Ben Lazreg. 2009. "Stable isotopic evidence for diet in a Roman and late Roman population from Leptiminus, Tunisia." *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36: 51–63.
- Kehoe, D. 1988. *The economics of agriculture on Roman imperial estates in North Africa*. Hypomnemata 89. Göttingen.
- . 2007a. "The early Roman empire: Production." In Scheidel, Morris, and Saller (2007), 543–69.
- . 2007b. *Law and the rural economy in the Roman empire*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Kelly, C. 2004. *Ruling the later Roman empire*. Cambridge, MA.
- Kenrick, P. 1986. *Excavations at Sabratha 1948–1951*. Journal of Roman Studies Monograph 2. London.
- Kidner, F. 2001. "Christianizing the Syrian countryside: An archaeological and architectural approach." In Burns and Eadie (2001), 349–79.
- Klingshirn, W.E. 1994. *Caesarius of Arles: The making of a Christian community in late antique Gaul*. Cambridge.
- Koch, H. 1932. "Die ps.-cyprianische Schrift De centesima, sexagesima, tricesima in ihrer Abhängigkeit von Cyprian." *ZNW* 31: 248–72.
- Kolendo, J. 1991. *Le colonat en Afrique sous le Haut-Empire*. 2nd ed. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 177. Paris.
- . 1995. "Les institutions autochtones dans les domaines africains." In Troussset (1995), 309–14.
- Köpke, N., and J. Baten. 2005. "The biological standard of living in Europe during the last two millennia." *European Review of Economic History* 9: 61–95.
- Kornemann, E. 1942. "Pagus." In *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, 2327–28. Stuttgart.
- Kosso, C. 2003. *The archaeology of public policy in late Roman Greece*. BAR International Series 1126. Oxford.
- Kotula, T. 1974. "Snobisme municipal ou prospérité relative? Recherches sur le statut des villes nord-africaines sous le Bas-Empire romain." *Ant. Afr.* 8: 111–31.
- . 1982. *Les principales d'Afrique: Étude sur l'élite municipale nord-africaine au Bas-Empire romain*. Travaux de la Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Wrocław, sér. A, no. 226. Wrocław.
- Krause, J.-U. 1987. *Spätantike Patronatsformen im Westen des römischen Reiches*. Munich.
- Ladjimi-Sebauï, L. 1988. "Une site de la Tunisie centrale: Agger." *Bull. des Travaux de l'I.N.A.a., Comptes Rendus*, 59–77.
- Laffi, U. 1966. *Adtributio e contribution: Problemi del sistema politico-amministrativo dello stato romano*. Pisa.
- Lailly, P.-A. 1969–1971. "Un trésor de monnaies de Tiddis: Inventaire et observations."

- Lambot, C. 1948. "L'écrit attribué à S. Augustin *Adversus Fulgentium Donatistam*." *RB* 58: 177–222.
- . 1958. "Sermon inédit de Saint Augustin pour une fête de martyrs dans un homiliaire de type ancien." *RB* 68: 187–99.
- Lamoreaux, J. 1995. "Episcopal courts in late antiquity." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 3.2: 143–67.
- Lancel, S. 1964. "Originalité de la province ecclésiastique de Byzacène aux IV^e et V^e siècles." *Les cahiers de Tunisie* 45–46: 139–53.
- . 1972. *Introduction générale*. Vol. 1 of *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*. SC 194. Paris.
- . 1983. "L'affaire d'Antoninus de Fussala." In Divjak (1983), 267–85.
- . 1984. "Études sur la Numidie d'Hippone au temps de Saint Augustin: Recherches de topographie ecclésiastique." *MEFRA* 96.2: 1085–1113.
- . 1987. "La céramique punique d'époque hellénistique." In *Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines*, ed. P. Lévêque and J.P.M. Morel, 2: 99–137. Paris.
- . 1990. "Évêchés et cités dans les provinces africaines (III^e–V^e siècles)." In *L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain*, 273–90.
- . 1991. *Additamentum criticum, notices sur les sièges et les toponymes, notes complémentaires et index*. Vol. 4 of *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411*. SC 373. Paris.
- . 1992/1995. *Carthage*. Trans. Antonia Nevill. Cambridge, MA.
- Lancel, S., G. Robine, and J.-P. Thuillier. 1980. "Town planning and domestic architecture of the early second century B.C. on the Byrsa, Carthage." In *New light on ancient Carthage*, ed. J.G. Pedley, 13–28. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Landau, P. 1995. *The realm of the word: Language, gender, and Christianity in a southern African kingdom*. Portsmouth.
- Lane Fox, R. 1994. "Literacy and power in early Christianity." In *Literacy and power in the ancient world*, ed. A. Bowman and G. Woolf, 126–48. Cambridge.
- Laporte, J.-P. 1999. "Deux basiliques chrétiennes de Maurétanie césarienne." *Antiquité tardive* 7: 371–82.
- Lassère, J.-M. 1977. *Ubique populus: Peuplement et mouvements de population dans l'Afrique romaine de la chute de Carthage à la fin de la dynastie des Sévères (146 a. C.–235 p. C.)*. Paris.
- Laurence, P. 2002. *Gérontius, La vie latine de Sainte Mélanie*. Jerusalem.
- Le Bohec, Y., ed. 1994. *L'Afrique, la Gaul, la religion à l'époque romaine: Mélanges à la mémoire de Marcel Le Glay*. Collection Latomus 226. Brussels.
- Leclercq, J. 1947. "Prédiction et rhétorique au temps de Saint Augustin." *RB* 57: 117–31.
- . 1948. "Les inédits africains de l'homiliaire de Fleury." *RB* 58: 53–72.
- . 1949. "Sermons de l'école de S. Augustin." *RB* 59: 100–113.
- Leclercq, S. 2008. "De l'apparence de la richesse: Les imitations de céramiques fines à Volubilis." *L'Africa romana* 17: 507–19.
- Lefort, J., C. Morisson, and J.-P. Sodini, eds. 2005. *Les villages dans l'empire byzantin (Ve–XVe siècle)*. Réalités Byzantines 11. Paris.
- Leglay, M. 1961–66. *Saturne africain: Monuments*. 2 vols. Paris.
- . 1968. "Le flaviens et l'Afrique." *MEFRA* 80: 201–46.
- Lemarié, J. 1972. "Un sermon inédit sur Matthieu 16, 13–19 de l'école de Fulgence de Ruspe." *REAug* 18: 116–23.

- . 1993. "L'homélie carolingienne de Mondsee, témoin de sermons d'un Pseudo-Fulgence." In *Philologia sacra: Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. R. Gryson, 568–82. Freiburg.
- . 1994. "Nouveaux fragments de sermons attribuables à un Pseudo-Fulgence." *RB* 104: 191–203.
- Lemerle, P. 1979. *The agrarian history of Byzantium from the origins to the twelfth century: The sources and problems*. Trans. G. Mac Niocaill. Galway.
- Leone, A. 2003. "Topographies of production in the cities of late antique North Africa." In *Late antique archaeology: Theory and practice*, ed. L. Lavan, L. Bowden, and W. Bowden, 257–87. Leiden.
- . 2007. *Changing townscapes in North Africa from late antiquity to the Arab conquest*. Bari.
- Lepelley, C. 1979. *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas Empire*. 2 vols. Paris.
- . 1983. "Liberté, colonat et esclavage d'après la Lettre 24*: La juridiction épiscopale 'de liberali causa.'" In Divjak (1983), 329–42.
- . 1984. "Deux témoignages de Saint Augustin sur l'acquisition d'un domaine impérial à bail emphytéotique." *BAC*, n.s., *Afrique du nord* 17: 273–84.
- . 1987. "Notes complémentaires de la Lettre 10*." In *Lettres 1*- 29**, ed. J. Divjak. Vol. 46B of *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin*. Paris.
- . 1989. "Trois documents méconnus sur l'histoire sociale et religieuse de l'Afrique romaine tardive, retrouvés parmi les *spuria* de Sulpice Sévère." *Ant. Afr.* 25: 235–62.
- . 1992. "The survival and fall of the classical city in Late Roman Africa." In *The city in late antiquity*, ed. J. Rich, 50–76. New York.
- . 1994. "La création de cités nouvelles en Afrique au Bas-Empire: Le cas de la *civitas Faustianensis*." In Le Bohec (1994), 288–99.
- . 1998. "L'Afrique." In *Approches régionales du Haut-Empire romain*. Vol. 2 of *Rome et l'intégration de l'empire: 44 av J.-C.–260 apr. J.-C.*, ed. C. Lepelley, 71–112. Paris.
- Leroy, F. 1993. "Les sermons africains pseudo-augustinien Caillaud S.Y.I, 46 et Scorialensis 19 (Chrysostomus Latinus) sur l'épisode de Zachée (Lc 19)." *Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik* 106: 215–22.
- . 1994. "Vingt-deux homélies africaines nouvelles attribuables à l'un des anonymes du Chrysostome latin (PLS 4) (Vienne. Ö.N.B. Ms. Lat. 4147)." *RB* 104: 123–47.
- . 1997. "L'homélie donatiste ignorée du Corpus Escorial (Chrysostomus Latinus, PLS IV, sermon 18)." *RB* 107: 250–62.
- . 1999. "Les 22 inédits de la catéchèse donatiste de Vienne: Une édition provisoire." *RecAug* 31: 149–234.
- . 2004. "Compléments et retouches à la 3^e édition de la *Clavis patrum latinorum*: L'Homilétique africaine masquée sous le Chrysostomus Latinus Sévérien de Cérāmussa et la catéchèse donatiste de Vienne." *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 99.2: 425–34.
- Leroy, M. 2001. "La production sidérurgique en Gaule: Changements et mutations perceptibles entre le Haut Empire et les débuts du haut Moyen Âge." In Polfer (2001), 79–96.
- Leveau, P. 1983. "La ville antique et l'organisation de l'espace rural: Villa, ville, village." *Annales (ESC)* 38.4: 920–41.
- . 1984. *Caesarea de Maurétanie: Une ville romaine et ses campagnes*. Rome.
- . 1993. "L'Afrique du Nord." In *Campagnes de la Méditerranée romaine: Occident*, ed. P. Leveau, P. Sillières, and J.-P. Vallat, 161–200. Paris.
- Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G. 2001. *The decline and fall of the Roman city*. Oxford.
- Liebs, D. 1993. *Römische Jurisprudenz in Afrika: Mit Studien zu den pseudopaulinischen*

- Sentenzen*. Antike in der Moderne. Berlin.
- Lipinski, E., ed. 1992. *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*. Turnhout.
- Lloyd, J. 1991. "Farming the highlands: Samnium and Arcadia in the Hellenistic and early Roman imperial periods." In Barker and Lloyd (1991), 180–93.
- Lund, J. 1995. "Hellenistic, Roman, and late Roman fine wares from the Segermes Valley—forms and chronology." In Dietz, Sebai, and Habib (1995), 2:445–629.
- . 1997. "African red slip ware re-evaluated." *JRA* 10: 572–74.
- Machielsen, J. 1990. *Clavis patristica pseudepigraphorum medii aevi*, 1A-B: *Homiletica*. CCL. Turnhout.
- . 1994. *Clavis patristica pseudepigraphorum medii aevi*, 2A: *Praefatio, theologica, exegetica*. CCL. Turnhout.
- Mackensen, M. 1993. *Die spätantiken Sigillata- und Lampentöpfereien von El Mahrine (Nordtunesien): Studien zur nordafrikanischen Feinkeramik des 4. bis 7. Jahrhunderts*. 2 vols. Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 50. Munich.
- . 1998. "Centres of African red slip ware production in Tunisia from the late 5th to the 7th century." In Sagui (1998), 23–39.
- Mackensen, M., and G. Schneider. 2002. "Production centres of African red slip ware (3rd–7th c.), in northern and central Tunisia: Archaeological provenance and reference groups based on chemical analysis." *JRA* 15: 121–58.
- MacMullen, R. 1966. *Enemies of the Roman order: Treason, unrest, and alienation in the empire*. Cambridge.
- . 1982. "The epigraphic habit in the Roman empire." *AJPh* 103 (1982): 233–46.
- . 1989. "The preacher's audience (AD 350–400)." *JThS* 40: 503–11.
- . 1990. "The historical role of the masses in late antiquity." In *Changes in the Roman empire: Essays in the ordinary*, 250–76. Princeton, NJ.
- . 2000. *Romanization in the time of Augustus*. New Haven, CT.
- Mahjoubi, A. 1978. *Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie à Hr. el-Faouar (Tunisie): La cité de Belalitani Maiores*. [Tunis].
- Maier, J.-L. 1973. *L'épiscopat de l'Afrique romaine, vandale et byzantine*. Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana 11. Neuchâtel.
- . 1987–89. *Le dossier du Donatisme*. 2 vols. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 134–35. Berlin.
- Mangin, M., and J.-P. Petit. 1994. *Les agglomérations secondaires: La Gaule Belgique, les Germanies et l'Occident romain: Actes du colloque de Bliesbruck-Reinheim, 21, 22, 23, et 24 octobre 1992*. Paris.
- Manning, J.G., and I. Morris, eds. 2005. *The ancient economy: Evidence and models*. Stanford.
- Marcillet-Jaubert, J. 1979. "Coloni loci Legum Maiorum." *Epigraphica* 41: 66–72.
- Markus, R.A. 1966. "Reflections on religious dissent in North Africa in the Byzantine period." *Studies in Church History* 3: 118–26. Reprinted in Markus (1983).
- . 1970. *Saeculum: History and society in the theology of St. Augustine*. Cambridge.
- . 1972. "Christianity and dissent in Roman North Africa: Changing perspectives in recent work." *Studies in Church History* 9: 21–36. Reprinted in Markus (1983).
- . 1979. "Country bishops in Byzantine Africa." *Studies in Church History* 16: 1–15. Reprinted in Markus (1983).
- . 1983. *From Augustine to Gregory the Great: History and Christianity in late antiquity*. London.
- Mason, H.J. 1978. "Fabula graecanica: Apuleius and his Greek sources." In *Aspects of Apuleius' Golden Ass*, ed. B.L. Hijmans and R.T. van der Paardt, 1–15. Groningen.

- Masturzo, N., and K.A. Ben Rabha. 1997. "Wadi al-Fani (Khoms): Villa, mausoleum, and gasr." *Libya antiqua*, n.s., 3: 214–17.
- Matthews, J. 1989. *The Roman empire of Ammianus*. Baltimore.
- Mattingly, D.J. 1985. "Olive oil production in Roman Tripolitania." In *Town and country in Roman Tripolitania*, ed. D.J. Buck and D.J. Mattingly, 27–46. BAR International Series 274. Oxford.
- . 1989. "Olive cultivation and the Albertini Tablets." *L'Africa romana* 6: 403–14.
- . 1994. *Tripolitania*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- . 1996. "Explanations: People as agency." In Barker and Mattingly (1996), 1: 319–42.
- . 1997. "Africa: A landscape of opportunity?" In *Dialogues in Roman imperialism: Power, discourse, and discrepant experience in the Roman empire*, ed. by D.J. Mattingly, 103–16. JRA Supplement 23. Portsmouth.
- . 2004. "Being Roman: Expressing identity in a provincial setting." *JRA* 17: 5–25.
- Mattingly, D.J., C.M. Daniels, J.N. Dore, D. Edwards, and J. Hawthorne. 2003. *The archaeology of Fazzan*. Vol. 1, *Synthesis*. London and Tripoli.
- Mattingly, D.J., and D. Flower. 1996. "Romano-Libyan settlement: Site distributions and trends." In Barker and Mattingly (1996), 1: 159–90.
- Mattingly, D.J., and J. Hayes. 1992. "Nador and fortified farms in North Africa." *JRA* 5: 408–18.
- Mattingly, D.J., and R.B. Hitchner. 1995. "Roman Africa: An archaeological review." *JRA* 8: 165–213.
- Mattingly, D.J., D. Stone, L. Stirling, and N. Ben Lazreg. 2001. "Leptiminus (Tunisia): A 'producer' city?" In *Economies beyond agriculture in the classical world*, ed. D. Mattingly and J. Salmon, 66–89. New York.
- Maurin, L. 1967. "Thuburbo Maius et la paix vandale." *Les cahiers de Tunisie* 15: 225–54.
- Maxwell, J. 2006. *Christianization and communication in late antiquity: John Chrysostom and his congregation in Antioch*. Cambridge.
- McCormick, M. 2002. *Origins of the European economy: Communications and commerce, AD 300–900*. New York.
- McIntosh, S.K., and R.J. McIntosh. 1993. "Cities without citadels: Understanding urban origins along the middle Niger." In *The archaeology of Africa: Food, metals, and towns*, ed. T. Shaw, P. Sinclair, B. Andah, and A. Okpoko, 622–41. New York.
- McNamara, J.A. 1983. *A new song: Celibate women in the first three Christian centuries*. New York.
- Mee, C., D. Gill, H. Forbes, and L. Foxhall. 1991. "Rural settlement change in the Methana Peninsula, Greece." In Barker and Lloyd (1991), 223–32.
- Meiggs, R. 1960. *Roman Ostia*. Oxford.
- Mendels, F. 1972. "Protoindustrialization: The first phase of the industrialization process." *Journal of Economic History* 32: 241–61.
- Mercier, G. 1924. "La langue libyenne et la toponymie antique de l'Afrique du Nord." *Journal asiatique* 105: 189–320.
- Merdinger, J.E. 1997. *Rome and the African church in the time of Augustine*. New Haven, CT.
- Merrills, A.H., ed. 2004. *Vandals, Romans, and Berbers: New perspectives on late antique North Africa*. Aldershot.
- Mesnager, J. 1912. *L'Afrique chrétienne: Évêchés et ruines antiques*. Paris.
- Meyer, E.A. 1990. "Explaining the epigraphic habit in the Roman empire: The evidence of epitaphs." *JRS* 80: 74–96.
- Miles, R. 2005. "The *Anthologia latina* and the creation of a secular space in Vandal Carthage." *Antiquité tardive* 13: 305–20.

- Millar, F. 1968. "Local cultures in Roman empire: Libyan, Punic, and Latin in Roman Africa." *JRS* 58: 126–52.
- . 1977. *The emperor in the Roman world (31 BC–AD 33)*. Ithaca, NY.
- . 1981. "The world of the *Golden Ass*." *JRS* 71: 63–75.
- Millet, M. 1990. *The Romanization of Britain: An essay in archaeological interpretation*. Cambridge.
- . 1991. "Pottery: Population or supply patterns? The Ager Terraconensis approach." In Barker and Lloyd (1991), 18–26.
- . 2000. "Dating, quantifying, and utilizing pottery assemblages from surface survey." In Francovich and Patterson (2000), 53–59.
- Minor, C. 1997. "Reclassifying the Bacaudae: Some reasons for caution; Part I: Who were the third-century Bacaudae?" *The Ancient World* 28: 167–81.
- Mitchell, S. 1993. *Anatolia: Land, men, and gods in Asia Minor*. 2 vols. Oxford.
- Modéran, Y. 1996. "La renaissance des cités dans l'Afrique du VI^e siècle d'après une inscription récemment publiée." In *La fin de la cité antique et le début de la cité médiévale de la fin du III^e siècle à l'avènement de Charlemagne*, ed. C. Lepelley, 85–114. Bari.
- . 1998. "L'Afrique et la persecution vandale." In *Histoire du Christianisme des origines à nos jours*, ed. J. Mayeur, C. Piétri, L. Piétri, A. Vauchez, and M. Venard, 3: 247–78. Paris.
- . 1999. "Les frontières mouvantes du royaume vandale." In *Frontières et limites géographiques de l'Afrique du Nord antique: Hommage à Pierre Salama; Actes de la table ronde réunie à Paris les 2 et 3 mai 1997*, ed. C. Lepelley and X. Dupuis, 241–64. Paris.
- . 2002. "L'établissement territorial des Vandales en Afrique." *Antiquité tardive* 10: 87–122.
- . 2003a. "Une guerre de religion: Les deux églises d'Afrique à l'époque vandale." *Antiquité tardive* 11: 21–44.
- . 2003b. *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine (IV^e–VII^e siècle)*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 314. Rome.
- Mohamedi, A., A. Benmansour, A.A. Amamra, and E. Fentress. 1991. *Fouilles de Sétif: (1977–1984)*. Bulletin d'archéologie algérienne, Suppl. no. 5.
- Monceaux, P. 1901–1923. *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*. 7 vols. Paris.
- Moore, J. 2008. "Common pottery traditions of Tripolitania and Byzacena." In *L'Africa romana* 17: 2275–86.
- Mørch, H. 1995. "The Segermes region, Tunisia—three geographical studies." In Dietz, Sebai, and Habib (1995), 2: 23–55.
- Morel, J.-P. 1981. *Céramique campanienne: Les formes*. 2 vols. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 244. Rome.
- Morin, G. 1910. "Recueils perdus d'homélies de s. Césaire d'Arles." *RB* 27: 465–79.
- . 1930. *Miscellanea agostiniana*. Vol. 1. Rome.
- Morizot, P. 1984–85. "Les inscriptions de Tazembout (Aurès): Aperçu sur un village romain de haut montagne au III^e siècle." *BAC*, n.s., *Afrique du nord* 30–31: 69–100.
- . 1997. *Archéologie aérienne de l'Aurès*. Paris.
- Morris, I. 2005. "Archaeology, standards of living, and Greek economic history." In Manning and Morris (2005), 91–126.
- . 2007. "Early Iron Age Greece." In Scheidel, Morris, and Saller (2007), 211–41.
- Morrisson, C. 1980. "La trouvaille d'Aïn Kelba et la circulation des minimi en Afrique au

- début du VI^e siècle.” In *Mélanges de numismatique, d’archéologie et d’histoire offerts à Jean Lafaurie*, ed. P. Bastien, F. Dumas, H. Huvelin, and C. Morisson, 239–48. Paris.
- . 1987. “La circulation de la monnaie d’or en Afrique à l’époque vandale: Bilan des trouvailles locales.” In *Mélanges de numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien à l’occasion de son 75^e anniversaire*, ed. H. Huvelin, M. Christol, and G. Gautier, 325–44. Wetteren.
- . 1988. “Carthage: Production et circulation du bronze à l’époque byzantine d’après les trouvailles et les fouilles.” *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 239–53.
- . 2003. “L’atelier de Carthage et la diffusion de la monnaie frappée dans l’Afrique vandale et byzantine.” *Antiquité tardive* 11: 65–84.
- Morisson, C., and J.-P. Sodini. 2002. “The sixth-century economy.” In *The economic history of Byzantium: From the seventh through the fifteenth century*, ed. A. Laiou, 1: 165–220. Washington, DC.
- Moscatti, S. 1972. *E Fenici e Cartagine*. Società e Costume 8. Turin.
- Mostecky, H. 1997. *Münzen zwischen Rom und Byzanz: Studien zur spätantiken Numismatik*. Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Munier, C., ed. 1960. *Les statuta ecclesiae antiqua*. Paris.
- Munzi, M. 1998. “Uadi Er-Rsaf, area sud: Lo scavo della villa suburbana.” *Libyan antiqua*, n.s., 4: 189–93.
- Neuru, L. 1990. “Appendix 2: The pottery of the Kasserine Survey.” *Ant. Afr.* 26: 255–59.
- Nevett, L. 2001. *House and society in the ancient Greek world*. Cambridge.
- . 2008. “Castles in the air? The Julius mosaic as evidence for elite country housing in late Roman North Africa.” In *L’Africa romana* 17: 745–57.
- Noordraven, B. 1999. *Die Fiduzia in römischen Recht*. Amsterdam.
- Norton, Peter. 2007. *Episcopal elections 250–600: Hierarchy and popular will in late antiquity*. Oxford.
- Oates, D. 1953. “The Tripolitanian Gebel: Settlement of the Roman period around Gasr ed-Dauun.” *PBSR* 21: 81–117.
- Olivar, A. 1991. *La predicacion cristiana antigua*. Barcelona.
- Ørsted, P., J. Carlsen, L. Ladjimi Sebai, and H. Ben Hassen, eds. 2000. *Historical conclusions*. Vol. 3 of *Africa Proconsularis: Regional studies in the Segermes Valley of northern Tunisia*. Aarhus.
- Panella, C. 1986. “Le merci: Produzioni, itinerari e destini.” In *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, ed. A. Giardina, 3: 431–59. Rome.
- . 1993. “Merci e scambi nel Mediterraneo tardoantico.” In *Storia di Roma*, ed. A. Momigliano and A. Schiavone, 3: 613–73. Turin.
- Panella, C., and L. Sagui. 2001. “Consumo e produzione a Roma tra tardoantico e altomedioevo: Le merci, i contesti.” In *Roma nell’alto medioevo, 757–818*. Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo 48. Spoleto.
- Parkins, H., ed. 1997. *Roman urbanism: Beyond the consumer city*. New York.
- Parrish, D. 1979. “Two mosaics from Roman Tunisia: An African variation of the season theme.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 83: 279–85.
- . 1985. “The date of the mosaics from Zliten.” *Ant. Afr.* 21: 137–58.
- Patlagean, E. 1977. *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4^e–7^e siècles*. Paris.
- Patterson, J.R. 1987. “Crisis: What crisis? Rural change and urban development in imperial Apennine Italy.” *PBSR* 55: 115–46.
- . 2006. *Landscapes and cities: Rural settlement and civic transformation in early imperial Italy*. Oxford.
- Pavis d’Escurac, H. 1981. “Nundinae et vie rurale dans l’Afrique du Nord romaine.” *BAC*,

- n.s., *Afrique du nord* 17b: 251–46.
- Paynter, R., and R.H. McGuire. 1991. "The archaeology of inequality: Material culture, domination, and resistance." In *The archaeology of inequality*, ed. R.H. McGuire and R. Paynter, 1–27. Oxford.
- Peacock, D.P.S., F. Bejaoui, and N. Ben Lazreg. 1989. "Roman amphora production in the Sahel region of Tunisia." In *Amphores romaines et histoire économique: Dix ans de recherche: Actes du colloque de Sienne, 22–24 mai 1986*, 179–222. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 114. Rome.
- . 1990. "Roman pottery production in central Tunisia." *JRA* 3: 59–84.
- Peña, J.T. 1998. "The mobilization of state olive oil in Roman Africa: The evidence of late 4th-c. ostraca from Carthage." In *Carthage papers: The early colony's economy, water supply, a public bath, and the mobilization of state olive oil*, 117–238. *JRA* Supplement 28. Portsmouth.
- Percival, J. 1975. "Culturae Mancianae: Field pattern in the Albertini Tablets." In *The ancient historian and his materials*, ed. B. Levick, 213–27. Farnborough.
- . 1979. *The Roman villa*. Berkeley.
- Pergola, P., ed. 1999. *Alle origini della parrocchia rurale (IV-VIII sec.): Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana (École Française de Rome 19 marzo 1998)*. Sussidi allo Studio delle Antichità Cristiane 12. Vatican City.
- Perler, O. 1969. *Les voyages de Saint Augustin*. Paris.
- Pettegrew, D. 2007. "The busy countryside of late Roman Corinth: Interpreting ceramic data produced by regional archaeological surveys." *Hesperia* 76: 743–84.
- Peyras, Jean. 1975. "Le 'fundus aufidianus': Étude d'un grand domaine romain de la région de Mactar." *Ant. Afr.* 9: 181–222.
- . 1991. *Le Tell nord-est tunisien dans l'antiquité: Essai de monographie régionale*. Paris.
- . 1995. "Recherches nouvelles sur les *undecimprimi*." In Troussel (1995), 275–92.
- Pflaum, H.G. 1970. "La Romanisation de l'ancien territoire de Carthage punique à la lumière des découvertes épigraphiques récentes." *Ant. Afr.* 4: 75–117. Reprinted in H. Pflaum, *Afrique romaine*, vol. 1 of *Scripta varia* (Paris, 1978).
- Picard, G.-C. 1959. *La civilisation de l'Afrique romaine*. Paris.
- . 1966. "L'administration territoriale de Carthage." In *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à André Piganiol*, ed. R. Chevallier, 3: 1257–65. Paris.
- . 1969. "Le *pagus* dans l'Afrique romaine." *Karthago* 15: 1–12.
- . 1974. "Une survivance du droit public punique en Afrique romaine: Les cités sufféales." In *Atti del convegno internazionale sul tema i diritti locali nelle province romane con particolare riguardo alle condizioni giuridiche del suolo (Roma, 26–28 ottobre 1971)*. Rome.
- . 1990. "Mosaïques et société dans l'Afrique romaine: Les mosaïques d'El Alia (Tunisie)." In *L'Afrique dans l'Occident romain*, 3–14.
- Poblome, J., and R. Brulet. 2005. "Production mechanisms of sigillata manufactories: When East meets West." In *Trade relations in the eastern Mediterranean from the late Hellenistic period to late antiquity: The ceramic evidence: Acts from a Ph.D.-seminar for young scholars, Sandbjerg Manorhouse, 12–15 February 1998*. Ed. M.B. Briese and L.E. Vaag, 27–36. Campusvej.
- Polanyi, K. 1957. "The economy as instituted process." In *The sociology of economic life*, ed. M. Granovetter and R. Swedberg. Boulder, CO.
- Polfer, M., ed. 1999. *Artisanat et productions artisanales en milieu rural dans les provinces du nord-ouest de l'empire romain: Actes du colloque d'Erpeldange, mars 1999*. Monographies Instrumentum 9. Montagnac.

- . 2000. "Eisenproduktion und Eisenverarbeitung in Nordgallien und dem Rheinland während der römischen Kaiserzeit." In *Iron, blacksmiths, and tools: Ancient European crafts; Acts of the instrumentum conference at Podsreda (Slovenia) in April 1999*, ed. M. Feugère and M. Gustin, 67–88. Monographies Instrumentum 12. Montagnac.
- , ed. 2001. *L'artisanat romain: Évolutions, continuités et ruptures (Italie et provinces occidentales): Actes du 2e colloque d'Erpeldange (26–28 octobre 2001), organisé par le Séminaire d'Études Anciennes du Centre Universitaire de Luxembourg et Instrumentum*. Monographies Instrumentum 20. Montagnac.
- . 2005. *L'artisanat dans l'économie de la Gaule Belgique romaine à partir de la documentation archéologique*. Montagnac.
- Polla, S. 2001–2002. "Ceramica dai siti rurali intorno a Dougga (alto tell tunisino): Analisi tipologica e applicazione GIS." Diss., Università degli Studi di Trento, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Corso di Laurea in Lettere Classiche. Abstract accessed online: <http://lasa.lett.unitn.it/IMMAGINI/documenti/abstract/tesi/Abstract%20tesi%20Polla.pdf> (accessed March 18, 2010).
- Ponsich, M. 1964. "Exploitations agricoles romaines de la région de Tanger." *Bulletin d'archéologie marocaine* 5: 235–252.
- Potter, T.W. 1995. *Towns in late antiquity: Iol Caesarea and its context*. Ian Sanders Memorial Fund, Occasional Publication 2. Oxford.
- Pottier, B. 2008. "Les circoncussions: Formation d'une élite rurale monastique autonome dans l'Afrique du Nord des IV^e et V^e siècles." In *Revolte und Sozialstatus von der Spätantike bis zur frühen Neuzeit*, ed. P. Depreux, 19–38. Pariser Historische Studien 87. Munich.
- Pringle, D. 1981. *The defence of Byzantine Africa from Justinian to the Arab conquest*. 2 vols. BAR International Series 99. Oxford.
- . 2002. "Two fortified sites in Byzantine Africa: Aïn Djelloula and Henchir Sguidan." *Antiquité tardive* 10: 269–90.
- Prodromidis, P.-I. 2006. "Another view on an old inflation: Environment and policies in the Roman empire up to Diocletian's price edict." Centre of Planning and Economic Research (Athens, Greece), no. 85. http://www.kepe.gr/pdf/D.P/dp_85.pdf (accessed June 4, 2009).
- Quinn, J. Crawley. 2003. "Roman Africa." *Digressus* Suppl. 1: 7–37, <http://www.digressus.org> (accessed March 18, 2010).
- Raasted, J. 1961. "A fragment of an unidentified Latin sermon textually related to Ps.-Augustinus Sermo 106." *Studia patristica* 3 = *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alchristlichen Literatur* 78: 108–15. Berlin.
- Rapp, C. 2005. *Holy bishops in late antiquity: The nature of Christian leadership in an age of transition*. The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 37. Berkeley.
- Rasmussen, T. 1991. "Tuscania and its territory." In Barker and Lloyd (1991), 106–14.
- Rathbone, D. 1991. *Economic rationalism and rural society in third-century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninos archive and the Appianus estate*. New York.
- . 1996. "Monetisation, not price-inflation, in third-century Egypt." In *Coin finds and coin use in the Roman world*, ed. C.E. King and D.G. Wigg, 321–39. Berlin.
- Raven, S. 1969. *Rome in Africa*. London.
- Raynal, D. 2006. *Archéologie et histoire de l'Église d'Afrique Uppenna I: Les fouilles 1904–1907*. Vol. 1. Toulouse.
- Rebuffat, R. 1969. "Maisons à peristyle d'Afrique du Nord: Répertoire des plans publiés." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 81: 659–724.
- . 1986. "Recherches sur le bassin du Sebou." *CRAI*: 634–61.
- . 1988. "Les fermiers du désert." *L'Africa romana* 5: 33–68.
- . 1993. "Castellum." *Encyclopédie Berbère* 12: 1822–33. Aix-en-Provence.

- Reddé, M. 1988. *Prospection des vallées du nord de la Libye (1979–80): La région de Syrte à l'époque romaine*. Cahiers du Groupe de Recherches sur l'Armée Romaine et les Provinces 4. Paris.
- Reece, R. 1981. "Roman monetary impact on the Celtic world—thoughts and problems." In *Coinage and society in Britain and Gaul: Some current problems*, ed. B. Cunliffe. CBA Research Report 38. London.
- . 1984. "Coins." In Hurst and Roskams (1984), 171–81.
- Reynolds, P. 1993. *Settlement and pottery in the Vinalopó Valley (Alicante, Spain) A.D. 400–700*. BAR International Series 588. Oxford.
- Riché, P. 1976. *Education and culture in the barbarian west from the sixth through the eighth centuries*. Trans. J.J. Contreni. Columbia, SC. Originally published as *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident barbare, 6^e–8^e siècles* (Paris, 1962).
- Riggs, D. 2001. "The continuity of paganism between the cities and countryside of late Roman Africa." In Burns and Eadie (2001), 285–300.
- . 2006. "Christianizing the rural communities of late Roman Africa: A process of coercion or persuasion?" In *Violence in late antiquity: Perceptions and practices*, ed. H.A. Drake, 297–308. Aldershot.
- Ripoll, G., and J. Arce. 2000. "The transformation and end of Roman *villae* in the West (fourth-seventh centuries: problems and perspectives)." In Brogiolo, Gauthier, and Christie (2000), 63–114.
- Roller, D. 2003. *The world of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene: Royal scholarship on Rome's African frontier*. New York.
- Roques, D. 1987. *Synésios de Cyrène et la Cyrénaïque du Bas-Empire*. Paris.
- Rosenblum, M. 1961. *Luxorius: A Latin poet among the Vandals*. New York.
- Roskams, S. 1996. "Urban transition in North Africa: Roman and medieval towns of the Maghreb." In *Towns in transition: Urban evolution in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages*, ed. N. Christie and S.T. Loseby, 159–83. Brookfield, VT.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. 1957. *Social and economic history of the Roman empire*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Oxford.
- Rougé, J. 1983. "Escroquerie et brigandage en Afrique romaine au temps de Saint Augustin (epist. 8* and 10*)." In Divjak (1983), 177–88.
- Rouse, R., and C. McNelis. 2000. "North African literary activity: A Cyprian fragment, the stichometric lists, and a Donatist compendium." *Revue d'histoire des textes* 30: 189–238.
- Rousseau, P. 1998. " 'The preacher's audience': A more optimistic view." In *Early Christianity: Late antiquity and beyond*. Vol. 2 of *Ancient history in a modern university*, ed. T.W. Hillard, R.A. Kearsley, C.E.V. Nixon, and A.M. Nobbs. Grand Rapids, MI.
- Rowe, A. 2006. "Reconsidering late Roman Cyprus: Using new material from Nea Paphos to review current artifact typologies." PhD diss., University of Sydney.
- Rowlandson, J. 1996. *Landowners and tenants in Roman Egypt: The social relations of agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite nome*. Oxford.
- Rubin, Z. 1995. "Mass movements in late antiquity: Appearances and realities." In *Leaders and masses in the Roman world: Studies in honor of Zvi Yavetz*, ed. I. Malkin and Z.W. Rubinsohn. Leiden.
- Ryan, N.S. 1988. *Fourth-century coin finds from Roman Britain: A computer analysis*. BAR British Series 183. Oxford.
- Saggioro, F. 2004. "Late antique settlement on the plain of Verona." In Bowden, Lavan, and Machado (2004), 505–34.
- Sagui, L., ed. 1998. *Ceramica in Italia: VI–VII secolo; Atti del convegno in onore di John W. Hayes, Roma, 11–13 maggio* 1995. Florence.

- Salomonson, J.W. 1960. "The fancy dress banquet: Attempt at interpreting a Roman mosaic from El Djem." *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 35: 25–55.
- . 1979. *Voluptatem spectandi non perdat sed mutet: Observations sur l'iconographie du martyre en Afrique romaine*. Verhandelingen, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 98. Amsterdam.
- Salzman, R. 1990. *On Roman time: The codex-calendar of 354 and the rhythms of urban life in late antiquity*. Berkeley.
- Sarnowski, T. 1978. *Les représentations de villas sur les mosaïques africaines tardives*. Wrocław.
- Sarris, P. 2004a. "The origins of the manorial economy: New insights from late antiquity." *English Historical Review* 119: 279–311.
- . 2004b. "Rehabilitating the great estate: Aristocratic property and economic growth in the late antique East." In Bowden, Lavan, and Machado (2004), 55–71.
- . 2006. *Economy and society in the age of Justinian*. Cambridge.
- Sartre, M. 1999. "Les metrokómiai de Syrie du Sud." *Syria* 76: 197–222.
- Saumagne, C. 1950. "Un tarif fiscal au quatrième siècle de notre ère (d'après des fragments épigraphiques découverts à Carthage)." *Karthago* 1: 107–200.
- . 1962. "Le domaine impérial de la 'Tour Ronde.'" *Les cahiers de Tunisie* 10: 257–62.
- Saxer, V. 1970. "Un sermon médiéval sur la Madeleine." *RB* 80: 17–50.
- Scalon, C. 1975. "Su alcune omelie pasquali pseudoagostiniane: Le omelie Caillau-St. Yves I, 27.28.31.32.34.36." *Aevum* 49: 349–88.
- Scheidel, W. 2000. "Slaves of the soil." *JRA* 13: 727–32.
- . 2007. "Demography." In Scheidel, Morris, and Saller (2007), 38–86.
- . 2009. "In search of Roman economic growth." *JRA* 22: 46–70.
- . 2010. "Economy and quality of life." In *Oxford handbook of Roman studies*, ed. A. Barchiesi and W. Scheidel. Oxford (draft available at <http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/>).
- Scheidel, W., and S. Friesen. 2009. "The size of the economy and the distribution of income in the Roman empire." *JRS* 99: 61–91.
- Scheidel, W., I. Morris, and R. Saller, eds. 2007. *The Cambridge economic history of the Greco-Roman world*. Cambridge.
- Schulten, P.G. 1984. *De circumcellionen: Een sociaal-religieuze beweging in de aate oudheid*. Scheveningen.
- Schumacher, L. 2001. *Sklaverei in der Antike: Alltag and Schicksal der Unfreien*. Munich.
- Schuring, J. 1988. "Terra sigillata africana from the San Sisto Vecchio in Rome." *Babesch: Bulletin antieke beschaving* 63: 1–68.
- Scott, E., J. Dore, and D.J. Mattingly. 1996. "The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey gazetteer, 1979–89." In Barker and Mattingly (1996) 2: 1–310.
- Scott, J. 1990. *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts*. New Haven, CT.
- Sears, G. 2007. *Late Roman African urbanism: Continuity and transformation in the city*. BAR International Series 1693. Oxford.
- Seeck, Otto. 1897–1920. *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*. 6 vols. Berlin.
- Sellew, P. 2001. "The hundredfold reward for martyrs and ascetics: Ps.-Cyprian, *De centesima, sexagesima, tricesima*." *Studia patristica* 36: 94–97.
- Shanks, M., and C. Tilley. 1987. *Social theory and archaeology*. Albuquerque, NM.
- Shaw, Brent. 1973. "The *undecemprimi* in Roman Africa." *Museum africanum* 2: 3–10. Reprinted in Shaw (1995b).
- . 1976. "Climate, environment, and prehistory in the Sahara." *World Archaeology* 8:

- 133–49. Reprinted in Shaw (1995a).
- . 1979. “The camel in ancient North Africa and the Sahara: History, biology, and human economy.” *Bulletin de l’Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire*, ser. B, 41: 663–721.
- . 1981a. “The Elder Pliny’s African geography.” *Historia* 30: 424–71. Reprinted in Shaw (1995b).
- . 1981b. “Rural markets in North Africa and the political economy of the Roman empire.” *Ant. Afr.* 17: 37–83. Reprinted in Shaw (1995b).
- . 1983. “Soldiers and society: The army in Numidia.” *Opus* 2: 133–59. Reprinted in Shaw (1995b).
- . 1984. “Water and society in the ancient Maghrib: Technology, property, and development.” *Ant. Afr.* 20: 121–73. Reprinted in Shaw (1995a).
- . 1991. “The structure of local society in the early Maghreb: The elders.” *The Maghreb Review* 16: 18–55. Reprinted in Shaw (1995b).
- . 1995a. *Environment and society in Roman North Africa*. Aldershot.
- . 1995b. *Rulers, nomads, and Christians*. Aldershot.
- . 2003. “A peculiar island: Maghrib and Mediterranean.” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18.2: 93–125.
- . 2004. “Who were the circumcellions?” In Merrills (2004), 227–58.
- Sherwin-White, A.N. 1973. *The Roman citizenship*. 2nd ed. Oxford.
- Simmons, M.B. 1995. *Arnobius of Sicca: Religious conflict and competition in the age of Diocletian*. Oxford.
- Sirks, A.J.B. 1999. “The *Epistula ad Salvium*, appended to a letter of Sulpicius Severus to Paulinus: Observations on a recent analysis by C. Lepelley.” *Subseciva Groningana* 6: 75–86.
- Slim, H., and L. Slim. 1996. *Vie et artisanat à Thysdrus/El Jem, ville d’Afrique, IIe–IIIe siècles: Exposition au Musée Archéologique de Nice-Cimiez*. Paris.
- Small, A. 1991. “Late Roman rural settlement in Basilicata and western Apulia.” In Barker and Lloyd (1991), 204–22.
- Smith, C. 1976. “Exchange systems and the spatial distribution of elites.” In *Regional analysis*, ed. C. Smith, 2: 309–74. New York.
- Smolak, K. et al. 2006. Postgraduieren-Workshop: Edieren lateinischer patristischer Texte, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 21. August—1. September, 2006. <http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kvk/workshop/index.html> (accessed September 21, 2006).
- Sodini, J.P. 1995. “Habitat de l’antiquité tardive 1.” *Topoi* 5: 151–218.
- . 1997. “Habitat de l’antiquité tardive 2.” *Topoi* 7: 435–577.
- Steinhauser, K., with H. Müller and D. Weber. 2006. In *Iob Commentarius*. CSEL 96. Vienna.
- Stevens, S. 1996. “Transitional neighbourhoods and suburban frontiers in late and post-Roman Carthage.” In *Shifting frontiers in late antiquity*, ed. R. Mathisen and H. Sivan, 187–200. Aldershot.
- Stirling, L.M., and N. Ben Lazreg. 2001. “A Roman kiln complex (Site 290).” In Stirling, Mattingly, and Ben Lazreg (2001), 221–35.
- Stirling, L.M., D.J. Mattingly, and N. Ben Lazreg, ed. 2001. *Leptiminus (Lamta) report no. 2: The east baths, cemeteries, kilns, Venus mosaic, site museum, and other studies*. JRA Supplement 41. Portsmouth.
- Stirling, L.M., D.L. Stone, N. Ben Lazreg, A. Burke, K. Carr, R.J. Cook, J. Dore, et al. 2000. “Roman kilns and rural settlement: Interim report of the 1999 season of the Leptiminus archaeological project.” *Echos du monde classique/Classical Views*, n.s., 19: 179–224.
- Stock, B. 1987. *The implications of literacy: Written language and models of interpretation in*

- the 11th and 12th centuries. Princeton, NJ.
- Stone, D. 1997. "The development of an imperial territory: Romans, Africans, and the transformation of the rural landscape of Tunisia." PhD diss., University of Michigan.
- . 2004. "Problems and possibilities in comparative survey: A North African perspective." In Alcock and Cherry (2004), 132–43.
- . 2008. "Coloni and the imperial cult in the countryside of Sitifis." *L'Africa romana* 17: 2157–70.
- Stone, D., L. Stirling, and N. Ben Lazreg. 1998. "Suburban land-use and ceramic production around Leptiminus (Tunisia): Interim report." *JRA* 11: 305–17.
- Syme, R. 1968. *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*. Oxford.
- Szzyrmer, M. 1965. "Les inscriptions dites 'latino-libyques.'" *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques* 10: 97–104.
- Talley, T. 1986–1991. *The origins of the liturgical year*. 2 vols. Collegeville, MN.
- Tarpin, M. 2002. *Vici et pagi dans l'Occident romain*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 299. Paris.
- Tate, G. 1992. *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du II^e au VII^e siècle: Un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique dans les campagnes à la fin de l'antiquité*. Paris.
- . 1997. "Expansion d'une société riche et égalitaire: Les paysans de Syrie du Nord du II^e au VII^e siècle." *CRAI*: 913–41.
- Tchalenko, G. 1953. *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*. 3 vols. Paris.
- Teutsch, L. 1962. *Das Städtewesen in Nordafrika in der Zeit von C. Gracchus bis zum Tode des Kaisers Augustus*. Berlin.
- Thébert, Y. 1983. "L'évolution urbaine dans les provinces orientales de l'Afrique romaine tardive." *Opus* 2: 99–132.
- . 1986. "Permanences et mutations des espaces urbains dans les villes de l'Afrique du Nord orientale: De la cité antique à la cité médiévale." *Les cahiers de Tunisie* 34: 31–46.
- . 1987. "Private life and domestic architecture in Roman Africa." In *A history of private life*, vol. 1, *From pagan Rome to Byzantium*, ed. P. Veyne, 319–409. Cambridge, MA.
- . 2003. *Thermes romains d'Afrique du Nord et leur contexte méditerranéen: Études d'histoire et d'archéologie*. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 315. Rome.
- Thomas, N. 1991. *Entangled objects*. Cambridge, MA.
- Thomasson, B.E. 1960. *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diocletianus*. 2 vols. Lund.
- . 1983. "Zur Verwaltungsgeschichte der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas (Proconsularis, Numidia, Mauretaniae)." *ANRW* 10.2: 3–61.
- Thompson, E.A. 1952. *A Roman reformer and inventor: Being a new text of the treatise De rebus bellicis with a translation and introduction*. Oxford.
- . 1974. "Peasant revolts in late Roman Gaul and Spain." In *Studies in ancient society*, ed. M.I. Finley, 304–20. London and Boston.
- Thompson, E.P. 1971. "The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century." *Past and Present* 50: 76–136. Reprinted in E.P. Thompson, *Customs in common: Studies in traditional popular culture* (New York, 1991), 76–136.
- Tiefenbach, H. 1991. "Das vandalische Domine Miserere." *Historische Sprachforschung* 104: 251–68.
- Tilley, M. 1996. *Donatist martyr stories: The church in conflict in Roman North Africa*. Liverpool.

- . 1997a. *The Bible in Christian North Africa: The Donatist world*. Minneapolis.
- . 1997b. "Sustaining Donatist self-identity: From the Church of the Martyrs to the Collecta of the Desert." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 5.1: 21–35.
- . 1999. "The structure of the episcopate and the eclipse of Christianity in North Africa." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Boston, MA, Nov. 22, 1999. <http://people.vanderbilt.edu/~james.p.burns/chroma/clergy/Tilleyorders.html> (accessed May 18, 2004).
- Tomber, R. 1987. "Evidence for long distance commerce: Imported bricks and tiles at Carthage." *Rei cretariae romanae fautorum acta* 25–26: 161–74.
- Tortorella, S. 1985. "Terra sigillata dell'Algeria orientale e centrale." In *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica: Atlante delle forme ceramiche*, 2: 140–42. Rome.
- . 2004. "La sigillata Africana in Italia nel VI e nel VII secolo d.C.: Problemi di cronologia e distribuzione." In Sagui (1998), 41–70.
- Toutain, J. 1916. "Observations sur l'inscription d'Aïn-Melouk (Algérie)." *BAC*: 62–69.
- Townsend, P. 1954. "*Bur, bure, and baris* in ancient North African place-names." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 13.1: 52–55.
- Trombley, F. 1994. *Hellenic religion and Christianization c. 370–529*. 2 vols. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 115/2. Leiden.
- . 2004. "Epigraphic data on village culture." In Bowden, Lavan, and Machado (2004), 73–101.
- Troussel, M. 1948. "Le trésor monétaire de Tiddis." *Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Société Archéologique, Historique et Géographique du Département de Constantine* 66: 129–76.
- . 1950–51. "Les monnaies vandales d'Afrique: Découvertes de Bou-Lilate et du Hamma." *Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Société Archéologique, Historique et Géographique du Département de Constantine* 67: 147–92.
- Trousset, P., ed. 1995. *L'Afrique du Nord antique et médiévale: Monuments funéraires, institutions autochtones; [Actes du] VI^e colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique de Nord, Pau, octobre 1993*. Paris.
- . 2002. "Les limites sud de la réoccupation byzantine." *Antiquité tardive* 10: 143–50.
- Turcan, R. 1961. "Trésors monétaires trouvés à Tipasa: La circulation du bronze en Afrique romaine et vandale aux Ve et VI^e siècles ap. J.C." *Lybica, archéologie-épigraphie* 9: 201–57.
- Vaag, L.E. 2005. "Phocaean red slip ware—main and secondary productions." In *Trade relations in the eastern Mediterranean from the late Hellenistic period to late antiquity: The ceramic evidence; Acts from a Ph.D.-seminar for young scholars, Sandbjerg Manor-house, 12–15 February 1998*. Ed. M.B. Briesse and L.E. Vaag, 132–38. Campusvej.
- Van Dam, R. 1985. *Leadership and community in late antique Gaul*. Berkeley.
- Vand der Veen, M., A. Grant, and G. Barker. 1996. "Romano-Libyan agriculture: Crops and animals." In Barker and Mattingly (1996), 1: 227–90.
- Van der Werff, J.H. 1977/78. "Amphores de tradition punique à Uzita." *Bulletin antieke beschaving* 52.3: 171–98.
- . 1982. *Uzita: Vondstenmateriaal uit een antieke nederzetting in Midden-Tunisie*. Utrecht.
- . 1984. "Céramique modelée d'Uzita." *Bulletin antieke beschaving* 59: 125–35.
- Van Dommelen, P., and S. Finocchi. 2008. "Sardinia: Diverging landscapes." In Van Dommelen and Gómez Bellard (2008), 159–201.
- Van Dommelen, P., and C. Gómez Bellard. 2008. *Rural landscapes of the Punic world*. London.

- Vanhaverbeke, H., and M. Waelkens. 2003. *The chora of Sagalassos: The evolution of the settlement pattern from prehistoric until recent times*. Studies in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology 5. Turnhout.
- Van Ossel, P., and P. Ouzoulias. 2000. "Rural settlement economy in northern Gaul in the late empire: An overview." *JRA* 13: 133–60.
- Van Thiel, H. 1971. *Untersuchungen*. Vol. 1 of *Der Eselroman*. Munich.
- Varinlioglu, Gündür. 2008. "Rural landscape and built environment at the end of antiquity: Limestone villages of southeastern Isauria." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- Vegas, M. 1989. "La céramique du camp à Simitthus." In *Simitthus II, Der Tempelberg und die römische Lager*, ed. F. Rakob, 141–243. Mainz.
- Verbraken, P. 1960. "Une 'Laus cerei' africaine." *RB* 70: 301–12.
- . 1961. "Les deux sermons du prêtre Eraclius d'Hippone." *RB* 71: 3–21.
- . 1962. "Le sermon CCXIV de Saint Augustin pour la tradition du symbole." *RB* 72: 7–21.
- . 1963. "Le sermon CXIV de Saint Augustin sur le pardon des offenses et le pastiche du 'Florilegium Casinense.'" *RB* 73: 17–32.
- . 1970. "Les pièces inédites du manuscrit latin 1771 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris." *RB* 80: 51–63.
- Veyne, P. 1959. "Contributio: Bénévent, Capoue, Cirta." *Latomus* 18: 568–92.
- . 1990. *Bread and circuses: Historical sociology and political pluralism*. Trans. Brian Pearce. London.
- Villaverde Vega, N. 2001. *Tingitana en la antigüedad tardía, siglos III-VII: Autoctonía y romanidad en el extremo occidente mediterráneo*. Madrid.
- Vismara, G. 1995. "Le *causae liberales* nel tribunale di Agostino vescovo di Ippona." *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 61: 365–72.
- Vogüé, A. de. 1979. "Une citation de Cyprien dans le Chrysostome latin et chez le Maître." *RB* 89: 176–78.
- . 1981. "Une sentence de Cyprien citée par le Maître, le Chrysostome latin, Césaire et la *Passio Iuliani*." *RB* 91.3–4: 359–62.
- Von Rummel, P. 2002. "'Habitudo Vandalorum'?: Zur Frage nach einer gruppenspezifischen Kleidung der Vandalen in Nordafrika." *Antiquité tardive* 10: 131–41.
- Waelkens, M., and J. Poblome, eds. 1997. *Sagalassos 4: Report on the survey and excavation campaigns of 1994 and 1995*. Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae 9. Louvain.
- Walda, H., S.-A. Ashton, P. Reynolds, J. Sidell, I.W. Sijöström, and K. Wilkinson. 1997. "The 1996 excavations at Lepcis Magna." *Libyan Studies* 28: 43–70.
- Walker, D.R. 1988. "The Roman coins." In *The temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, vol. 2, *The finds from the sacred spring*, ed. B. Cunliffe, 281–358. Oxford.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1994. *Houses and society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*. Princeton, NJ.
- Walsh, P.G. 1994. Introduction to *The Golden Ass*, by Apuleius of Madauros. Trans. P.G. Walsh. Oxford.
- Wanner, R. 2006. "A gazetteer for the Kasserine Archaeological Survey (Kasserine –Feriana region of Tunisia)." MA thesis, Tufts University.
- Ward-Perkins, J.B. 1996. "Urban continuity?" In *Towns in transition: Urban evolution in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages*, ed. N. Christie and S.T. Loseby, 4–17. Brook- field, VT.
- . 2005. *The fall of Rome and the end of civilization*. Oxford.
- Warmington, B.H. 1954. *The North African provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal conquest*. Cambridge.

- Wason, P. 1994. *The archaeology of rank*. Cambridge.
- Watson, P.J., S. Le Blanc, and C. Redman. 1984. *Archaeological explanation: The scientific method in archaeology*. New York.
- Weber, V. 1983. "Die Texte der als Zeugnisse für die Existenz von Kolonen behandelten Inschriften." In *Die Kolonen in Italien und den westlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches*, ed. K.-P. Johne, J. Köhn, and V. Weber, 355–414. Berlin.
- Webster, J. 2001. "Creolizing the Roman provinces." *AJA* 105: 209–25.
- Wenk, W. 1988. *Zur Sammlung der 38 Homilien des Chrysostomus Latinus (mit Edition der Nr. 6, 8, 27, 32 und 33)*. Wiener Studien Beiheft 10. Vienna.
- Wessel, H. 2003. *Das Recht der Tablettes Albertini*. Berlin.
- Westgate, R. 2007. "The Greek house and the ideology of citizenship." *World Archaeology* 39.2: 229–245.
- Westra, L. 2002. *The Apostles' Creed: Origin, history, and some early commentaries*. Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia: Research on the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity 43. Turnhout.
- Whittaker, C.R. 1994. *Frontiers of the Roman empire*. Baltimore.
- Whittaker, C.R., and P. Garnsey. 1998. "Rural life in the later Roman empire." In *The late empire, A.D. 337–425*, ed. A. Cameron and P. Garnsey, 277–310. Vol. 18 of *The Cambridge ancient history*. 2nd ed. Cambridge.
- Wickham, C. 2005a. "The development of villages in the West, 300–900." In Lefort, Morrisson, and Sodini (2005), 55–69.
- . 2005b. *Framing the early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800*. Oxford.
- Wightman, E. 1985. *Gallia Belgica*. Berkeley.
- Williamson, J. 2004. "De-industrialization and underdevelopment: A comparative assessment around the periphery 1750–1939." Paper prepared for the Harvard Economic History Workshop, Dec. 17, 2004. <http://ws1.ad.economics.harvard.edu/faculty/williamson/files/DeIndEHW1204.pdf> (accessed June 4, 2009)
- Wilpert, J. 1929–36. *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*. 3 vols. Rome.
- Wilson, A.I. 2001a. Review of *Rus africanum: Terra acqua olio nell'Africa settentrionale*, ed. M. de Vos. *Libyan Studies* 32: 186–88.
- . 2001b. "Ti. Cl. Felix and the date of the second phase of the East Baths." In Stirling, Mattingly, and Ben Lazreg (2001), 25–28.
- . 2001c. "Timgad and textile production." In *Economies beyond agriculture in the classical world*, ed. D. Mattingly and J. Salmon, 271–96. London.
- . 2002. "Urban production in the Roman world: The view from North Africa." *PBSR* 70: 231–73.
- . 2006. "The spread of foggara-based irrigation in the ancient Sahara." In *Natural resources and cultural heritage of the Libyan desert*, ed. D. Mattingly et al., 205–16. London.
- Woolf, G. 1998. *Becoming Roman: The origins of provincial civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge.
- Wright, D. 1993. *The Vatican Vergil: A masterpiece of late antique art*. Berkeley.
- Yang, A. 1998. *Bazaar India: Markets, society, and the colonial state in Gangetic Bihar*. Berkeley.
- Yntema, D. 1993. *In search of an ancient countryside: The Amsterdam Free University field survey at Oria, province of Brindisi, south Italy (1981–1983)*. Scrinium Monographs on History, Archaeology, and Art History 6. Amsterdam.
- Younes, A. 1999. *Recherches sur la ville portuaire de Thapsus et son territoire en Byzacene dans l'antiquité*. 2 vols. Cahiers du CERES, Série Histoire, no. 10. Tunis.

Zechiel-Eckes, K. 1992. *Die Concordia canonum des Cresconius: Studien und Edition*.
Frankfurt am Main.

INDEX

The index that appeared in the print version of this title was intentionally removed from the eBook. Please use the search function on your eReading device for terms of interest. For your reference, the terms that appear in the print index are listed below

Pages references in *italics* refer to illustrations and tables.

Abensis (parish), conversion of

actores (landlords' agents)

Acts of Saint Gallonius

Ad Sava, *municipium* at

Advena, Decimus Annaeus

African Red Slipped Pottery (ARS): of Caesarea Mauretaniae

early imperial

local production of

of Mauretania

of Numidia

rural distribution of

of Segermes

of Syrtica. *See also* pottery; Tripolitanian Red Slip ware

African Red Slipped Pottery (ARS), Tunisian

under Byzantines

dominance of

imitations of

Africa Proconsularis: bishoprics of

datable sites of

decline in inscriptions

government of

house plans from

municipia of

primate of

reorganization of

Vandal conquest of

agonistici: as confessors

at *nundinae*. *See also* circumcellions; Axido and Fasir

agriculture, ancient modes of

agriculture, North African

Carthaginian

crisis in sixth century

diversification of

drought cycles in

grains in

Libyan technology in

olive farming

share-cropping

wadi. *See also* estates, North African; farms; tenancy

Albertini Tablets

civic terminology within

magistrates in

priest in

Roman legal traditions in

settlement pattern of

tenancy in

Alcock, Susan

aliculae (capes)

altercationes (fictitious debates)

Altercatio Pascasii. *See* Pseudo-Augustine

Altercatio ecclesiae et synagogae. *See* Pseudo-Augustine

Alypius (primate of Numidia)

at Council of Carthage

Ambrose, Saint: *De Helia et ieiunio*

amphoras

exports

imported

Neo-Punic

Punic-era

annona (imperial food contribution)

Anonymous of Ravenna, on Numidia

Antigonus of Maginensis

Antimacheia (Phrygia), imperial appeal of

Antiphonale Sinaiticum

Antoninus (bishop of Fussala)

and absentee landlords

assumption of magistrate powers

conflict with Celer

control of *castellum*

deposition of

misconduct of

spiritual authority of

Appian, *Libyca*

Apuleius: African origins of
education of

—*Metamorphoses: casulae* in
commerce in
confirmation of archaeological record
courtyard houses in
date of
Greek source for
market gardener in
nonconsumers in
settlement patterns in
terminology of
vessels in

archaeological surveys: criticisms of
and consumption
and excavation
methodology of

archaeological surveys, North African:
late antique settlement growth in. *See also* commodities; pottery.

archaeology: demographic approach to
processualist

architecture: impact of Roman rule on
Libyo-Phoenician
Numidian
urban

architecture, domestic: of Cirta
conspicuous display in
dating of
Greek
of late empire
in late Roman texts
in mosaics
nonelite
of strip houses. *See also casae; casulae*; houses, North African; *mapalia*

architecture, rural: professional. *See also* farms; *gsur*; huts

Arians: bribery by
Cerealis on
texts by
Vandal

aristocracy, service. *See also* elites, North African

Arnobius of Sicca Veneria

Arnobius the Younger, on preaching

art, North African: impact of Roman rule on

artifacts: differential access to
in study of consumption. *See also* commodities

artisan industries

Egyptian

European

decline under early

Roman rule

development of

in *oppida*

tax burden of. *See also* commodities; workshops

artisans, rural: independent

landlords' employment of

wages of

asceticism, popularity of. *See also sanctimoniales*

Asclepius Afer (bishop of Vaga)

De paenitentia

ethnicity of

loss of works

Asia Minor, bishops of

under Severans

Atlas Mountains

Augustine of Hippo: address to paupers

advice to *ecclesiae*

advocacy of Roman law

advocate metaphors of

agricultural metaphors of

anti-Donatist writings of

audience of

baking metaphors of

and bishopric of Fussala

on bishops

on Catholic violence

on charity

on circumcellions

clerical career of

and competition for readers

congregation of

correspondence of

at council of

debate with Donatists

on debt

defense of clergy

on destruction of temples

on Donatist coercion

geographical terminology of

on heretics

on landlords

on legitimate *potestas*

- livestock metaphors of
- parish visits of
- on penance
- plagiarisms from
- on preaching
- preaching by
- promulgation of Council of Carthage
- and protection of *sanctimoniales*
- and punishment of magistrates
- sermon length of
- sermon on patience
- sermon on the Creed
- sermons
- sermons at Easter
- sermons to *competentes*
- and slave trade
- terms for houses
- translations into Punic
- Works: *Abecedarium*
- Contra epistulam Parmeniani*
- De catechizandis rudibus*
- Epistula* 9*
- Epistula* 10*
- Epistula* 18*
- Epistula* 20*
- Epistula* 24*
- Epistula* 28*
- Epistula*
- Epistula*
- Sermo*
- Sermo*
- Sermo*
- Sermo*
- Sermo Guelferbitanus*
- Sermones Dolbeau* *See also* Pseudo-Augustine
- Aurelius (bishop of Carthage)
 - convening of Donatists
 - on ordination of bishops
- Aurelius of Macomades (primate of Numidia)
 - and Antoninus of Fussala
 - Punic sermons of
- Aurès Mountains, artifacts of
- authors, North African
 - knowledge outside of Africa. *See also* texts, North African
- Axido and Fasir (*agonistici*)
 - defeat of

- interference with debt collection
- use of documentary procedure

- Bagai (Numidia): circumcellion violence at
 - food distribution at
 - peasants of

- Bagaudae (peasant brigands)

- Banaji, Jairus
 - on gymnasial class

- bathhouses, rural
 - of Cillium
 - dedications of
 - on farms
 - at Kerkouane
 - of late empire
 - in *Latin Anthology*
 - in mosaics
 - peasants' use of
 - at villas

- Bavares: attack on Numidia
 - Maximian's campaign against

- Belezma (Numidia), archaeological survey, courtyard farms of

- Belisarius (general)
 - beneficia*. *See* charity

- Berbers. *See* Libyans

- Berthier, André

- Beschaouch, A.

- Biferno (Italy), fineware of

- Biracsaccar (Carthaginian territory): civic status of
 - inscriptions of
 - self-government of

- bishoprics: of Africa Proconsularis
 - of Byzacena
 - of late antiquity
 - of Numidia
 - vacant

- bishoprics, rural
 - church hierarchy's view of
 - distribution of
 - growth of
 - ideal of
 - identifiable
 - numbers of
 - place names of
 - politics of
 - secular status of

- submunicipal
- textual evidence for
 - of third century
- bishops: backgrounds of
 - communication with countryside
 - competition for readers
 - election of
 - judicial power of
 - leadership of textual communities
 - lists of
 - numbers of
 - ordination of
 - power of manumission
 - reconciliation of penitents
 - role in self-governing communities
 - surviving works of
 - Vandal
- bishops, Catholic
 - competition with Donatists
 - compromise with Donatists
 - debate with Donatists
 - numbers of
 - opposition to Donatists
 - political influence of
 - preaching to Donatists
 - view of circumcellions
- bishops, Donatist
 - and circumcellions
 - competition with Catholics
 - compromise with Catholics
 - exile of
 - numbers of
 - preaching by
 - on secessionist plebs
- bishops, rural: campaigns for allegiance
 - Catholic-Donatist competition among
 - collective identity under
 - congregations' approval of
 - at Council of Constantinople
 - of Cyrenaica
 - day-to-day activities of
 - Donatist
 - election of
 - of fourth century
 - judicial powers of
 - as landlords

numbers of
ordination of
“pauper,”
polemics against heretics
preaching by
preaching to Donatists
relations with landlords
resident on estates
secular powers of
of small dioceses
bishops, urban
audiences of
parish visits of
rural audiences of
use of rural clergy
Bisica (*colonia*)
 undecimprimi of
Boglio stele (Siliana), clothing on
Boniface (*comes Africae*)
Boniface I, Pope
boundary stones
 of Sigus
Bourdieu, Pierre
bricks: as ballast
 imported
Britain, Roman: coinage of
 fineware in
 rural dwellings of
 Samian ware in
Broughton, T.R.S.
Brown, Peter
 on Christian communication
 on church power
 Poverty and Leadership
 on Sabbath farming
 on saints’ cults
bure (suffix)
Byzacena: bishoprics of
 creation of
 fineware of
 olive farming in
 primate of
 settlements of
 under Vandals
Byzantine North Africa
 civic buildings of

- coinage of
- churches of
- economy of
- new city foundations
- pottery of
- rural settlement
- texts from

Caecilian (bishop of Carthage)

Caelestis (goddess)

Caesarea Mauretaniae (provincial capital)

- episcopal election at

- Labors of the Field mosaic

- Vintage Scenes mosaic, workshop at

Caesarea Mauretaniae region: archaeological survey

- coarsewares of

- domestic architecture of

- fineware of

- metal objects of. *See also* Nador

Caesarius of Arles

- educational efforts of

- homiliary of

Calcutic ware

Callistratus, on peasantry

camels, African: domestication of

candidati: shepherd metaphors for. *See also* catechumens

Cap Bon: Greek mercenary invasion of

- villas of

Caracalla (emperor), dedications to

Carrié, J.-M.

Carthage (provincial capital): bishops of

- Boar Hunt mosaic

- coinage of

- destruction of

- Dominus Julius mosaic

- population of

- pottery of

- Roman rule of

- sanctuary of Caelestis

- in Vandal era

- Year of. *See also* Aurelius; church councils; Council of Carthage

Carthage region

- archaeological survey

- collectives of

- ethnicity in

- pottery of

- tributary areas of. *See also* pagi
- casae*
 - literary references to
- Cassiodorus: on architecture
 - on *nundinae*
- castella*: inscriptions of
 - magistrates of
 - market rights for
 - of Numidia
 - in North African texts
 - preaching at
- res publica* status for
 - growing autonomy in Severan period
 - status under early Roman empire
 - status under late empire
 - tax collection from
 - temples in
 - in territory of Sitifis. *See also* Biracsaccar, Fussala, Sinit, Tiddis.
- Castellum Turrensium
- casulae* (rustic dwellings)
 - decline of
- catechumens: sermons for. *See also competentes*
- cathedrae*: as centers for rural communities
 - on estates
 - preaching at. *See also* bishoprics
- Celer (senator)
- centenaria*. *See* *gsur*
- Cephalitana (estate): bishops of. *See also* *Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda*
- ceramics. *See* pottery
- Cerealis (bishop of Ripensis): see of
 - writings of
 - charity: Augustine on
 - corrupting
 - discourse of
 - versus* euergetism
 - patronage and
 - preaching on
 - proper and improper
 - tyrannical. *See also* food distribution; patronage
- children, debt slavery of
- China, rural unrest in
- chorepiscopi* (clerics)
- ch|o-|ria* (villages)
- chrisma*, mystery of
- Christianity: cultural participation through
 - rural/urban

- as social mediator
- universal
- Christianity, North African
 - clerical careers in
 - divisions within
 - imposition of Catholicism on
 - maintenance of *Romanitas*
 - under Vandals. *See also* bishops; clergy; Donatists; preaching
- church councils: evidence for rural bishops from
 - geographical terminology of
 - on *lectores*
 - procedure for electing bishops
 - transcripts of. *See also* Council of Carthage(411).
- churches, North African: African-Byzantine
 - as houses of God
 - under Vandals
- Chrysostom, Latin. *See* Pseudo-Chrysostom
- Cillium (Kasserine)region: archaeological survey
 - bathhouses of
 - farms of
 - hut compounds of
 - pottery kilns in
- Circumcellions: as agonistic monks
 - at Bagai
 - as Berber nationalists
 - Catholic bishops on
 - Catholic clerics as
 - and debt nullification
 - Donatist connections of
 - effect on *verecundia*
 - etymology of
 - leadership of
 - Macrobius's sermon to
 - millenarianism of
 - polemics against
 - political messages of
 - rebellion of
 - sanctimoniales* accompanying
 - sedition against authority
 - seeking of martyrdom
 - use of documents
- Cirta (Numidia): architecture of
 - confederation of
 - pagi* of
 - election of bishop of
 - territory of. *See also* castella, of Numidia; *Gesta apud Zenophilum*; Petilianus

cities, North African: civic buildings of
construction in fourth century
elections in
grain distribution in
imperial bureaucracy in
Justinianic refoundation of
magistrates of
management of civic lands
prosperity of
Punic
riots in
Roman architecture of
self-government of
tax burden of
under Vandals. *See also* bishops, urban; *municipia*

citizenship: Greek houses and
in North African estates

citizenship, Roman: lack of importance
in *res publicae*
restrictions on
rights of
of tenants
universal

civitates, North African
in church documents
citizenship in
decline in inscriptions from
demotion to villages
disappearance of
ecclesiae as
versus loci
in *Metamorphoses*
under Severans

Claudius II Gothicus

clergy: basis for authority
communication networks of
discourse of power relations
flight of. *See also* bishops; priests; readers

clergy, Catholic: acceptance of imperial authority
circumcellion-like behavior of
enforcement of law
flogging of magistrates
freeing of slaves
textually based norms of
as unclean food
violence against pagans

clergy, rural: Christian education of

duty toward poor

flogging of magistrates

origins of

preaching by

Punic-speaking

recruitment from *coloni*

role in rural activism

services led by

teaching duties of

clothing, North African: capes

on mosaics

peasants'

Roman-style

sagum

social distinctions in

tunica exomis

urban

coarseware, North African: cooking ware

imitation of fineware

impact of Roman rule on

imperial-era

locally produced

of Mauretania Caesariensis

Punic-era

of Sitifis

wheel-made. *See also* Calcitic ware, pottery

coinage: in Aurès Mountains

base metal

Byzantine

Carthaginian

debasement of

denarii

of early Roman era

of late empire

loss of

of Mauretania Caesariensis

minimi

Numidian

Punic

Romano-Libyan

in Segermes region

sesterces

siliqua

small change

in Thugga region

urban
Vandal

Collectio Armamentaria

colonnade

coloni: under absentee landlords

actores of

collective behavior of

collective identity of

dedications by

electing bishops

enslaved

indebtedness of

landlords' power over

in *Metamorphoses*

patronage of

preaching to

procuratores of

rebaptising of

recruitment of clergy from

religious coercion of

restitution to

violence against. *See also* Albertini Tablets; peasantry, North African Fussala

coloniae, North African

inscriptions of

colonial societies: dress regulations in

resistance in

subaltern groups in

comites Africae

command of North Africa

commodities, North African: and archaeological survey

availability of

distribution of

in early Roman era

imported

large-scale manufacture of

of late Punic period

late Roman

manufacturing sites

municipal control of

peasants' access to

regional production of

revival of

Romanized

urban manufacture of. *See also* artisan industries; consumption material culture; workshops

Commodus (emperor), dedications to

communication, clerical

- consequences of
- creation of textual communities
- rural/urban
- sanctimoniales* and
- in small dioceses. *See also* preaching
- competentes*, Augustine's sermons to. *See also* catechumens
- Conant, J.
- conductores* (rent collectors)
- Constans (emperor)
 - distribution of charity under
 - unity decree of
- Constantine (emperor)
 - and Donatist controversy
 - edict on episcopal power
 - food distribution under
 - municipal status under
- consumption, in antiquity
- consumption, North African
 - archaeological evidence for
 - barriers to
 - horizontal
 - impact of Roman rule on
 - landlords' view of
 - of late Roman era
 - in living standards
 - patterns of
 - rate of
 - sociopolitical constraints on. *See also* commodities; material culture
- Contra Felicianum arianum*. *See* Pseudo-Augustine
- cooking ware
 - Calclitic
 - coarseware
 - continuity in *See also* vessels
- Corippus (poet)
 - geographical terminology of
- Council of Carthage (411)
 - absences from
 - bishoprics in
 - communication of decisions from
 - Donatists at. *See also* church councils
- courtyards, peristyle. *See also* farms, courtyard
- creditors, debtor violence against
- Cresconius, *Concordia canonum*
- Cresconius (*conductor*), punishment for rape
- Crispinus (bishop of Calama), lease of Mappaliensis
- cucullus* (hooded cape)

- cuisine. *See* diet, dining.
- cult of the saints. *See* martyr cults.
- culture, North African: hybridity in
 - rural/urban. *See also* documentary culture; material culture
- Curma (decurion), baptism of
- Cyprian: Afra Latin Bible of
 - on bishops
 - cult of
 - use of. *See also* Pseudo-Cyprian
- Cyrenaica: rural bishops of
 - rural life in
- Dagron, G.
- Daniel (patriarch): North African representations of
 - refusal of gifts
- Davis, Natalie Zemon
- deacons
 - administration of church property
 - duties of
 - instruction of catechism
- debt: Augustine on
 - conditions favoring
 - illegal collection of
 - nullification of
 - peasantry's
 - in sermons
- debt slavery: among peasantry
 - of children
 - Roman law on. *See also* slaves
- decommunalization, North African
- decurions, North African
 - building campaigns of
 - competition among
 - land ownership by
 - material culture of
 - political power of
 - tax collection by
 - under Vandals
- Dekkers, Eligius
- De Ligt, L.
- De sobrietate et castitate* (treatise). *See* Pseudo-Augustine
- De vita christiana* (Pelagian treatise)
- diet, North African
 - Hellenization of
- dining, North African: Romanization of
 - tableware for

dioceses: creation of

primates' approval of. *See also* bishoprics; parishes Diocletian (emperor): city creation under

taxation under

Diodorus Siculus

dipondius (measurement)

Djebel Selloum, fineware of

documentary culture: disruption of power relations

peasants' access to

spread of

dolia

Dominus Julius mosaic. *See* Carthage, Dominus Julius mosaic

Donantius (deacon)

Donatist compendium (texts)

Donatist controversy: Augustine on

Constantine and

seniores and

settlement of

suppression of

Donatists: appeal to Roman law

Catholic bishops' opposition to

Catholic preaching to

circumcellions among

condemnation as heretics

confiscation of estates from

conversion of

at Council of Carthage

and debt collection

discourse of charity

exile of

freeing of slaves

of Fussala

history of

identity characteristics of

imperial edicts on

Julian's policy on

mobs

in rebellion of Gildo

rural constituency of

texts by. *See also* bishops, Donatist; Escorial sermons; Macrobius; *Passio Marculi*, *Passion of Maxima*, *Donatilla*, and *Secunda*

Donatus (bishop of Carthage)

on charity

exile of

on imperial patronage

on refusal of gifts

- Donatus of Avioccata, martyrdom of
- Dorotheus (landlord), punishment for rape
- Dougga. *See* Thugga (Dougga) region
- drinking: depiction in mosaics
 - Greek and Roman
 - as male activity
- Duchesne, L.
- Dunbabin, Katherine
- Durliat, Jean

- Easter: baptism at
 - sermons at
- ecclesiae*: and choice of priests
 - as *civitates*
 - of estates
 - relationship of bishops with
 - secessionist *plebes* in
 - submunicipal. *See also* bishoprics
- economy, North African: under Byzantines
 - entrepreneurship in
 - imports in
 - import substitution in
 - peasant non-participation in
 - prosperity in
 - regional consumption in
 - Roman disruption of
 - rural-urban connections in
 - surplus extraction in
 - urban
 - under Vandals

- economy, Roman: GDP of
 - growth indicators in
 - market-based models of
 - modernist/primitivist debate in
 - North African loss in
 - rural entrepreneurship in

- economy, Yucatan

- Egypt: fineware of
 - gymnasial class
 - late antique estates of
 - municipalization in
 - pottery kilns of
 - rural workshops of

- El Alia: Nilotic mosaics
 - peasantry of
- elections, episcopal

- participation of women in
- suffragium populi* in
- violence in. *See also* bishops
- Elisaeus (prophet)
- elites, North African
 - fragmentation of
 - investment in manufacturing
 - material culture of
 - service aristocracy
 - urban mansions of
- El Mahrine, kilns at
- emperors, petitions to
- Epigonius (bishop of Bulla Regia)
- Escorial sermons, Donatist
 - catechetical
 - charity in
 - imperial law in
 - on *traditores*
 - Zacchaeus in
- estates, North African: *autopragia* of
 - bath-houses on
 - bishops on
 - Byzantine
 - cathedrae* on
 - citizenship in
 - civic terminology for
 - as communities
 - confiscation from Donatists
 - dedications on
 - ecclesiae* of
 - fourth-century
 - imperial
 - irrigation of
 - lawsuits with *res publicae*
 - magistrates on
 - market rights for
 - political oratory on
 - priests on
 - private officials of
 - procuratores* of
 - Roman encouragement of
 - taxation of
 - temples on
 - tenants' rights on
 - towers on
 - in tribal territories

- under Vandals
- vici* on
 - workshops on. *See also coloni*; landlords, North African, Mancian tenure
- euergetism: *versus* charity
 - civic
- Eugenius of Carthage
 - Libellus fidei*
- Eustochius (jurist)
- exports, North African
 - decline in sixth century
 - effect on rural consumption
 - pottery
 - in second century C.E.
- fables, Roman: material appropriation in
- farming: on Sabbath
 - subsistence
 - techniques. *See also* agriculture, North African
- farms: architecture of
 - bathhouses on
 - fineware on
 - of imperial period
 - of Libyan Valleys
 - in *Metamorphoses*
 - peasant settlements near
 - with roof tiles
 - workforce of. *See also gsur; mapalia*
- farms, courtyard
 - of Cillium
 - Hellenistic style of
 - of imperial era
 - of Numidia
 - of Segermes
- Fasir (*agonisticus*). *See* Axido and Fasir
- Faustus, Anicius
- Fentress, Elizabeth
- Ferrandus of Carthage: *Breviary*
 - Life of Fulgentius of Ruspe*
- Février, P.-A.
- fineware: black-gloss
 - of Caesarea region
 - coarseware imitations of
 - datable
 - decline in industries
 - distribution of
 - Egyptian

- on farms
- of Gaul
- of imperial era
- imported
- indication of economic activity
- Italian
- of Libyan Valleys
- local manufacture of
- at lower-status sites
- peasant access to
- Punic-era
- regional markets for
- in Roman Britain
- of Segermes region
- of Severan era
- in study of material culture
- in Tunisia. *See also* pottery
- Finley, Moses
- Firmus (general)
- food distribution: under Constantine
 - opposition to
 - urban. *See also* charity
- Fortunatianus (bishop of Aquileia), survival of texts
- Frede, Hermann
- Frend, W.H.C.
- Frontinus
- Fulford, Michael
- Fulgentius (bishop of Ruspe)
 - on charity
 - election of
 - founding of monastery
 - on grants
 - on preaching
 - preaching by
 - sermons
 - sermons attributed to
 - Works: *Abecedarium*, *See also* Pseudo-Fulgentius
- fundi*. *See* estates, North African
- Fussala (castellum): bishop controversy in
 - Donatists of. *See also* Antoninus
- Gabardilla (*fundus*), Arian priest of
- Gaetulians
 - oppida* of
 - settlements of
- Gammarth (Punic villa)

Garamantes
 defeat of
Garnsey, Peter
Gascou, J.
Gaul: bishops of
 fineware of
 manufacturing in
 transmission of texts to
Geiseric (Vandal king)
 destruction of tax registers
Gennadius of Marseilles: on North African authors
 Works: *De viris illustribus*
 Statuta ecclesiae antiqua
Gerontius, *Life of Melania the Younger*
Gesta apud Zenophilum
Ghirza (Tripolitania)
 glass at
Gibbon, E.: on elections
gifts. *See* charity; food distribution
Gildo (*comes Africae*), rebellion of
Giliberti, G.
Gitta (deacon)
glass: dissemination in late empire
 imported
 at Nador
 production areas for
Goffart, Walter
gold, trans-Saharan trade in
Gordian I (emperor), acclamation of
Gordian III (emperor)
government, petition and response mode of
grain: distribution in cities
 exports
 in North African agriculture
 sale of
Gratianopolis (Mauretania Caesariensis)
 bishop of
Gratus (bishop of Carthage)
Great Persecution (C.E.)
Greece: domestic architecture of
 rural economy of
 settlement nucleation in
 small archaeological sites of
Grégoire, Réginald
Gregory I, Pope: on North African primates
 on Tigisi

- use of *civitas*
- gsur* (fortified farms)
- inscriptions on
 - of Libyan Valleys survey
 - settlements around
- Guha, Ranajit
- Guzabetensis (Numidia): *cathedra* of
- veterans' inscriptions at
- Hadrian (emperor), procurators of
- hamlets, North African: of imperial period
- Harmless, W.
- Heraclian (*comes Africae*)
- Heraclius (successor to Augustine)
- heresy: among marginalized groups
- Augustine on
 - Quodvultdeus on
 - and religious knowledge. *See also* Arians; Donatist controversy; Manichaeans
- Hermanowicz, Erika
- Herodian, on North African rebellion
- Hesperius (military tribune)
- Hippo: congregations of
- size of diocese
- Historia Augusta*, on North African rebellion
- Hitchner, Bruce
- homiliaries, medieval
- Augustine's sermons in
 - of Caesarius of Arles
 - North African sermons in
 - of Pseudo-Fulgentius
- Honoratus of Cirta
- Epistula ad Arcadium*
- Honorius (bishop), election of
- Honorius (emperor): on bishops' judicial power
- and Donatists
 - edict on rebaptising
 - law against pagans
 - poor relief under
- Hopkins, Keith
- Horden, P.
- houses, North African: gendered space in
- opus africanum*
 - terminology for. *See also* architecture, domestic; *casulae*; farms; villas
- houses, Roman: privacy in
- style of
- huts, North African

- compounds
- tiled roofs of. *See also casae, casulae*
- imperialism, Roman: different shape in eastern and western Mediterranean
 - peasants' appropriation of
 - private estates in
 - in the West. *See also* Roman Empire
- India, British: creation of status in
 - deindustrialization in
 - dress in
 - manufacturing revival in
- indigenism
 - resurgences of
- inscriptions: of *castella*
 - of *coloniae*
 - decline in
 - funerary
 - on *gsur*
 - of *municipia*
 - of *res publicae*
 - veterans'
- Ioannes Neapolitanus. *See* Sermons, of Morin collection
- iron production, in late empire
- irrigation, North African
- Isidore of Seville: on architecture
 - De illustribus*
 - on rural governments
- Italy: bishoprics of
 - settlement nucleation in
 - small archaeological sites of
- Jerba (Island): archaeological survey
 - courtyard farms of
 - fineware of
 - impact of Roman rule on
- Jerome, Saint: knowledge of North African authors
 - Libellus de virginitate*
- John Chrysostom: advice to landlords
 - on bathhouse use
 - on peasant characteristics
 - preaching of
 - sermons attributed to. *See also* Pseudo-Chrysostom
- Julian (emperor), Donatist policy of
- Julianus (bishop of Vazari)
- Justice, Steven
- Justinian (emperor)

building campaign of
fortification of Tigisi
foundations of
municipal status under
reconquest of Africa

Kasserine Survey. *See* Cillium (Kasserine) region

Kehoe, Dennis

Kerkouane: bath house of
ceramics of
construction materials at
pottery of
pre-Roman settlement of

Kherbet Zambia, *municipium* at

Klingshirn, William

Kosso, C.

Kotula, T.

Krause, J.-U.

Ksar el Guellal, kiln at

La Chebba mosaic, clothing on

Lactantius

Lamasba (Numidia), status of

Lambaesis
priest of

Lamiggiga (Numidia)

creation of *res publica* there

lampadum dies (festival of lamps)

lamps: ceramic

Italian

in *Metamorphoses*

Lancel, Serge

land: confiscation of

redistribution of

landlord- peasant relations

beneficia in

circumcellions and

coercion in

hierarchical

impersonality in

of late imperial era

money rents in

quasi-urbanism in

tenancy arrangements

undermining of

verecundia in

- landlords, North African: absentee
 - assistance during famine
 - Augustine on
 - autopragia* rights of
 - benefactions by
 - civic actions of
 - confiscations from
 - Donatist
 - emperors' *potestas* over
 - employment of artisans
 - estate agents of
 - formation of *vici*
 - imperial officials among
 - judicial power of
 - leasing by
 - in *Metamorphoses*
 - moral economy of
 - in mosaics
 - and peasant consumption
 - power over *coloni*
 - rape by
 - rebellions by
 - relationships with bishops
 - religious coercion by
 - restitution to *coloni*
 - role in religious unification
 - in Roman state
 - rural bishops of
 - selling of *coloni*
 - senatorial
 - under Vandals
 - view of peasant consumption
 - See also* estates, North African
- landscape, North African: in Roman period
- Latin Anthology*, Codex Salmasianus
- latrocinium*, discourse on
- law, Roman: Catholic advocacy of
 - on debt slavery
 - and divine law
 - documentary forms of
 - Donatist appeal to
 - estates under
 - punishment of magistrates in
 - on rape
 - rulers' accountability to
- Leges Maiores (Numidia), municipal status of

- Leo I (bishop of Rome)
- Lepcis Magna (Libya): archaeological survey near
 - coinage of
 - decline of
 - government of
- Lepelley, C.
 - on *castella*
 - on city creation
 - on *civitates*
 - on Pseudo-Sulpicius
- Leptiminus (Tunisia), archaeological survey
 - marine food of
 - pottery kilns
- Leveau, Philippe
- Libanius: on moral economy
 - on peasant brigands
- Libya: desert
 - toponyms of
 - See also* Tripolitania
- Libyans: conflict with Arabs
 - ethnicity of
 - mercenaries
 - Roman rule over
 - social organization of
 - tributary areas of
 - See also* Phoenicians
- Libyan Valleys archaeological survey
 - farms of
 - fineware of
 - gsur* of
 - Neolithic tools of
 - settlement decline in
- literacy, North African
 - destabilizing potential of
 - See also* documentary culture, textual communities
- literature, Greco-Roman: peasant nonconsumption in
- literature, North African: African-Byzantine
 - identification of
 - survival of
 - See also* texts, North African
- localism, North African
- Lucius of Patra, *Metamorphoses*
- Lucullus (bishop of Sinita)
- Luxorius (poet)
- Machielsen, Iohannis

Mackensen, Michael
MacMullen, Ramsay
 on preacher's audience
Macrobius (Donatist bishop): *Ad confessores et virgines*
 Passio Isaaci et Maximiani
 preaching to circumcellions
 writings of
magaria (dwellings)
magistrates, North African: of *castella*
 in church council transcripts
 defensores gentis
 election of
 enforcement of church decisions
 on estates
 flogging by clergy
 imperial appointment of
 landlords as
 late Roman
 of *pagi*
 in *Passion of Maxima*
 of *res publicae*
 urban
 of villages
Maier, J.- L.
Malliana (Mauretania Caesariensis)
 Manichaeen heresy in
Mammarius (martyr). See *Passio Mammarii*
Mancian tenure
 regulations for
 See also tenancy
mangones (slavers)
Manichaeans
 Augustine on
 sermons of
manumission: bishops' power of
 secular enforcement of
mapalia (farm houses)
 construction of
 pastoral associations of
 Sallust on
 vessels of. *See also* farms
Mappalia Siga, tenants of
Marcillet-Jaubert, J.
Marcus Aurelius (emperor), dedications to
martyrdom: circumcellions'
 discourse of

- in North African Christianity
- martyr cults
- Masinissa (Numidian king)
- mass, readings preceding
- master-slave relations, reversal of
- Matar (*municipium*)
 - bishop of
- material culture: archaeological approach to
 - indigenous reformation of
 - nontraceable
 - social distinctions in*See also* commodities; consumption
- material culture, North African: archaeological work on
 - inequalities in
 - non-Roman forms of
 - peasants' participation in
 - pre-Roman
 - Romanized
- Mattingly, D.J.
- Mauretania Caesariensis: Christianity in
 - coarseware of
 - division of
 - municipia* of
 - Roman government of
 - settlement decline in
 - under Vandals
- Mauretania: datable sites of
 - under Romano- Libyans
- Mauretania Tingitana: Roman abandonment of
 - Roman government of
 - settlement decline in
- Maximian (emperor)
- Maximinus (bishop of Siniti)
 - sermons attributed to
- Maximinus Thrax (emperor)
- Maxwell, Jaclyn
- McNelis, Charles
- Medeli, settlement at
- Mediana Zabuniorum, Donatist bishop of
- Megara (Carthaginian suburb)
- Mela, Pomponius: on *mapalia*
- Melania (aristocrat), charity of, . *See also* Gerontius
- Mercier, G.
- metal: dissemination in late empire
 - at Nador

- Metellus, Caecilius: Numidian campaign of
- metrokomiai* (communities)
 - of Syria
- Millar, Fergus
- Millet, Martin
 - on Samian ware
- millstones
- minimi* (coins)
 - of Carthage
 - minting of
 - Vandal-period
- Minucius Felix: *Octavius*
- Miracles of Saint Stephen*
- miracle tales
- Modéran, Yves
- monasticism: rural
 - social diversity in
- Monceaux, P.
- monetization, rural
 - during early imperial period
 - in late antiquity
- moral economies
- Moretum*, Pseudo-Virgilian: peasant nonconsumption in
- Morrisson, C.
- mosaics, North African
 - architecture in
 - banquet scenes in
 - in bathhouses
 - clothing in
 - depiction of drinking
 - peasant activities in
- municipia*, North African
 - cessation of promotion for
 - ideal of
 - inscriptions of
 - loss of autonomy
 - of Mauretania Caesariensis
 - preaching at
 - of Proconsularis
 - under Severans
- Nador (Mauretania Caesariensis): coarsewares at
 - coinage of
 - fortified farm of
 - glass at
 - metal at

Nattabutum (*res publica*)

necropoleis, Punic

Nibber (*castellum*)

North Africa: under Byzantines

ecological zones of

epigraphic record from

ethnic groups of

geography of

grain from

Hellenistic influence on

Libyan culture of

militarization of

municipal elections in

nomadism in

nonconsumers of

outside influences in

religious unity in

Roman government of

Romanization of

Romano-Libyan traditions in

Roman tribute demands in

rural-urban integration in

under Severans

social organization in

third-century crisis in

urban markets of

under Vandals. *See also* economy, North African

North African rebellion (238 C.E.)

Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africae. *See* Victor of Vita

Numidia: African Red Slipped Pottery of

bishoprics of

coinage of

courtyard farms of

early imperial settlements of

late Roman prosperity of

olive factories of

pottery of

pre-Roman houses of

primate of

Roman annexation of

Romanization in

under Romano-Libyans

settlement growth in

urban architecture of

under Vandals

wooden vessels of

- nundinae* (marketplaces)
 - circumcellion violence at
 - debt collection at
 - during pagan festivals
 - in Pliny the Younger's letters
 - seizures at
- Old Latin Bible
 - editions of
 - in North African sermons
- Olivar, A.
- olive farming: in Byzacena
 - in Sufetula
- oppida*, North African: abandonment of
 - artisan production in
 - associated with temples
 - construction techniques of
 - peregrine
 - pottery of
 - pre-Roman
- Optatus (bishop of Milev)
 - on circumcellions
 - on debt collection
 - discourse of charity
 - on parts of service
 - on preaching
 - references to bishops
 - on refusal of gifts
 - survival of sermons, See also *Gesta apud Zenophilum*
- Optatus (bishop of Thamugadi)
- opus africanum* (building material)
 - at Cillium
- opus quadratum* (building material)
- opus signinum* (decorated cement)
 - at Cillium
- Orcistus (Asia Minor), civic status of
- ordination: Augustine on
 - compulsory
 - of rural bishops
- Ottoman Empire, rural unrest in
- pagans
 - Christian violence against
 - Honorius's law against. *See also* Caelestis; Punic religion
- pagi*: Carthaginian
 - collective behavior in
 - disappearance of

- magistrates of
- membership in
- status under Roman empire
- Pagus Fortunalis, citizens of
- pagacy, relations with North Africa: *See also* Gregory I, Pope
- parishes: beginnings of
 - bishops' visits to
- Passio Mammarii*
- Passio Marculi*
- Passion of Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda*
 - Donatist affiliation of
 - magistrates in
 - sanctimoniales* in
- Passio Salsae virginis Tipasitanae*
- pastoralism, North African
- Patlagean, E.
- Patroclus (procurator)
- patronage: bypassing of
 - discourse of
 - imperial
 - moral economy of
 - selling of. *See also* charity
- Paul and Macarius (imperial commissioners): in circumcellion rebellion
 - distribution of patronage
- paupers: Augustine's address to
 - clerical duty toward
 - humiliation of
 - industry of
 - relief under Honorius
 - voluntary. *See also* charity; debt
- peasant rebellions, North African
 - reasons for
 - of 238 C.E.
- peasantry, late Roman: archaeological sources for
 - sharecropping by
 - unrest among
- peasantry, North African: access to commodities
 - access to documentary culture
 - access to fineware
 - agency of
 - anxiety concerning
 - appropriation of Roman imperialism
 - articulation of grievances
 - citizenship for
 - clerical communication with
 - clothing of

- cultural resistance by
- debt slavery of
- depiction as seditious
- on Egyptian estates
- enslavement of
- idealized
- indebtedness of
- literacy of
- living standards of
- in *Metamorphoses*
- mobility of
- in mosaics
- prosperity of
- protection of rights
- Punic-speaking masters of
- religious choice for
- rents of
- soldiers
- sources for
- taxation of
- traditionalism of
- use of bath-houses. *See also coloni*
- peasants, English: clothing of
- Peasants' Revolt, English
- Pelagianism
- penitents, reconciliation of
- Perler, O.
- Perpetua, Saint: sermons on
- Petilianus (bishop of Cirta)
 - handling of Roman law
- petitions, to imperial officials
- Peyras, Jean
- Pflaum, H.G.
- Phocaeen Red Slip pottery
- Phoenicians
 - as descendants of Noah
 - at Tigisi. *See also* Libyans
- Phosphorianus (*vicus*)
- plebs: confederation in *ecclesia*
 - political assembly of
 - role in episcopal elections
 - secession from *ecclesiae*
- Pliny the Elder, on North African peoples
- poleis*: changing meanings of
 - North African
 - of Thusca

- Polla, Silvia
- polytheism, North African. *See also* pagans
- Pomerius (priest)
- Possidius (bishop of Calama)
 - preaching of
 - preaching to Donatists
- pottery: in archaeological survey
 - under Byzantines
 - black-gloss
 - Calcitic Ware
 - of Carthage
 - of Cillium
 - exports
 - handmade
 - imported
 - locally produced
 - Numidian
 - pre-Roman
 - regional
 - of Sitifis
 - in study of material culture
 - of Vandal-Byzantine period. *See also* African Red Slipped Pottery; coarseware; fineware; *sigillata*
- pottery industry, Tunisian
 - collapse of
 - exports to Spain
- pottery workshops: emergence of
 - export-oriented
 - organization of
 - and settlement growth
- Pottier, B.
- power relations: clerics' discourse of
 - disruption by sermons
 - documentary forms of
 - peasants' negotiation of
 - of Roman society
 - in the West
- power structures, rural: within *civitates*
 - disruption of
 - landlord/*coloni*
- praefecti gentis*
- preaching: on charity
 - content of
 - in late antiquity
 - necessity of
 - to popular audiences

- by rural clergy
- See also* sermons
- priests: Arian
 - bilingual
 - communication of Augustine's opinions
 - Donatist
 - duties of
 - reading of scriptures
 - reading of sermons
 - sermons by. *See also* clergy
- Primasius
- primates, North African: approval of dioceses
 - choosing of
 - parish visits of
- Procopius: on *chōria*
 - geographical terminology of
 - on Tigisi
 - on Vandals
- procuratores* (landlords' agents)
- property, forcible sale of
- Prophetiae ex omnibus libris collectae*
- Pseudo-Augustine: *Altercatio cum Pascentio Ariano*
 - Altercatio ecclesiae et synagogae*
 - Contra Felicianum arianum de unitate trinitatis*
 - Sermo de misericordia*
 - sermons of
 - De sobrietate et castitate*
- Pseudo-Chrysostom: *De solstitiis et aequinoctiis*
 - lease arrangements in. *See also* *Collectio Armamentaria*; Escorial sermons; Sermons, anonymous, Morin collection; Sermons, anonymous, Wilmart collection
- Pseudo-Cyprian: *De singularitate clericorum*
 - Sermo de centesima*
- Pseudo-Fulgentius: agricultural metaphors in
 - debt in
 - homiliary of
 - sermons of
 - topics of
- Pseudo-Sulpicius
 - Epistula*
 - Epistula*
 - identity of. *See also* Matar
- Punic language
 - sermons in
 - translations into
- Punic religion. *See also* pagans
- Punic Wars

punishment: class differences in
of magistrates
for rape

Purcell, N.

Purpurius (bishop of Limiata)

Quintianus (priest of Vegesela)

Quodvultdeus (bishop of Carthage): agricultural metaphors of
on heretics
on houses of God
sermons of

rape: imperial law against
punishment for. *See also sanctimoniales*

readers (*lectores*)
bilingual

Reddé, M.

Register ecclesiae carthaginensis excerpta

religious sites, rural
pre-Roman

res publicae (self-governing communities): attributed communities of
citizenship in
of early empire
formation of
inscriptions of
lawsuits with estates
magistrates of
public works of
of third century

Restitutus (priest)

revenues, municipal: imperial takeover of. *See also* taxation
reverentia, Christian: places of
spread of

Riggs, D.

Roman Empire: agents of
appropriation of North African governments
civic ideals of
commodity exchange in
effect on North African economy
effect on rural consumption
government of North Africa
late antique villages of
power structures of
status creation in, ;. *See also* imperialism, Roman; Severans
Romanitas, Christian maintenance of
Romanization North African

chronology of
cultural hybridity and
resistance to
in second century C.E.
postcolonial theory and
Romanus (*comes Africae*)
Rome, Gothic sack of
Rostovtzeff, M.
on village development
Rouse, Richard
Rubi Z.
rural communities, eastern Mediterranean
rural communities, North African: administrative structures of
attribution to *res publicae*
bishops of
Christian
civic terminology for
formation of
of high empire
inscriptions of
of late empire
Libyo-Phoenician
municipal promotion for
Roman civic life in
self-government of
under Severans
status under Roman Empire. *See also castella; civitates; estates; oppida; pagi; res publicae; vici; villages*
Rusippisir (*municipium*)
Ruspe (Byzacena), bishops of
Sabinus (bishop of Tucca)
sagum (garment)
Sahara desert
crossing of
Sallust: on *mapalia*
on North African villages
saltus. *See* estates, North African
salvation purchasing of
Salvian of Marseilles
Samsucius (bishop of Turrensis)
sanctimoniales (female celibates): activities of
association with clerics
consecration of
in *De sobrietate et castitate*
Donatist

- numbers of
- and prophecy
- in violation of. *See also Passion of Maxima*
- sarcophagi, Italian
- Sardinia: Punic settlement in
 - rural cemeteries of
- Sarris, Peter
 - on commodified estates
 - on wage labor
- Scheidel, Walter
- Scott, James
- scriptures: common understanding of
 - non-canonical
 - public reading of
- Secunda (*sanctimonialis*). *See also Passion of Maxima*
- Secundus (bishop of Tigisi)
- Segermes region: archaeological survey
 - coinage of
 - courtyard farms of
 - domestic architecture of
 - drought cycles in
 - fineware of
 - first-century structures of
 - glass kiln in
 - pottery kilns of
 - rural bath-houses of
 - settlement size in
- self-government, civic
 - disappearance of
 - imperial disillusionment with
 - role of bishops in
 - under Severans
- Sellew, P.
- senators, Roman: estates of
 - North African
- seniores* (local leaders)
 - of *castella*
 - church councils and
 - and Donatist controversy
 - responsibilities of
- sermons
 - agricultural metaphors in
 - anti-Arian
 - anti-Donatist
 - Arian
 - audience of

Carthaginian
for catechumens
on charity
chronology of
codicological work on
comprehensibility of
debt in
disruption of power relations
dissemination of
Donatist
drought in
Easter
encouragement of vigilantism
in European libraries
hunger metaphors in
influence of
Lenten
Manichaean
manuscript traditions of
in medieval homiliaries
numbers of
Old Latin Bible in
in Punic
reuse of
for rural populations
sharing of
survival of
utilitarian purpose of
of Vandal era
women in
Zacchaeus in
sermons, anonymous
audience of
to catechumens
identification of
Morin collection
Pseudo-Augustinian
scriptural quotations in
subject matter of
Wilmart collection. *See also Collectio Armamentaria*; Escorial sermons; homiliaries,
medieval; Pseudo-Augustine; Pseudo-Fulgentius
sermons, Catholic: persuasive power of
sermons, Donatist
agonistici in
confessors in
sesterces, North African

- settlement growth
 - in archaeological surveys
 - in Byzantine era
 - imperial policies affecting
 - indicators of
 - interpretation of
 - late Roman
 - during Vandal period
- settlement patterns: archaeological evidence of
 - continuity in
 - pre-Roman
 - reconstruction of
 - semipastoral
- settlement sites: continuity in
 - Italian
- Severans: *castella* under
 - civitates* under
 - municipia* under
 - North Africa under
 - villages under
- Severus (bishop of Milev), lector of
- Severus, Alexander
- Severus, Septimius
- Severus, Sulpicius: *Dialogues*
 - spurii* of. *See also* Pseudo-Sulpicius
- sharecropping, second-century
- Shaw, Brent
- Sherwin-White, A.N.
- Siagu (Tunisia), government of
- Sicca Veneria (Tunisia)
 - curator of
 - duumviri* of
 - inscriptions of
 - pagi* of
- Sidi Ghrib, baths at
- Sidi Marzouk, pottery factory at
- Sidi Merzug: autonomy of
 - castellum* at
 - curators of
 - dedications of
 - magistrates of
- sigillata*: imported
 - Italian. *See also* fineware; pottery
- Sigus (Cirta region): boundary stones of
 - magistrates of
- siliqua* (coin)

Siniti (*castellum*)
Augustine's preaching at
bishop of
Catholic priest of. *See also* Maximinus

Sitifis (Mauretania): *castella* of
inscriptions of
pottery of
self-sufficiency of
skeletal remains, archaeological study of
slaves: in Augustine's sermons
forcible liberation of
freeing by Catholics
freeing by Donatists
overseas transport of
unjust enslavement of. *See also* debt slavery
slave trade
social groups: differentiation under Roman rule
resemblance among
societies, provincial: and dominant cultures
solidi (coins)
South Africa, indigenous Christianity in
Spain, North African immigration to
standard of living: of late antiquity
of North African peasantry. *See also* consumption
Statuta ecclesiae antiqua. *See* Gennadius
stelae, Libyo-Punic
Stock, Brian
The Implications of Literacy
Strabo, on North African collectives
strategoi (magistrates)
strip houses (rural)
subordinate groups, ideological incorporation of
Subsana (village)
sufetes (pre-Roman magistrates)
disappearance of
in peregrine towns
Sufetula (city)
Sufetula region: archaeological survey
iron smelting in
olive farming in
pottery kilns in
pottery of
rural bathhouses of
suffragium populi
Suppa (diocese)
Synesios of Cyrene

- Syria: magistrates of
 - metrokomiai* of
- Syrtica, ARS of
- tableware, shapes of. *See also* dining; pottery; vessels
- Tarpin, M.
- Taurinus, Count: suppression of Axido and Fasir
- taxation: changes in
 - in-kind
 - location of
 - market
 - rural/urban conflict over
- tax collection
 - by decurions
 - in early imperial era
 - imperial control over
 - sermons on
- temples, North African: associated with *oppida*
 - in *castella*
 - collective construction of
 - destruction of
 - on estates
- tenancy
 - in Albertini Tablets
 - hereditary
 - Mancian
 - wage labor and. *See also coloni*; estates
- Tertullian: on prayer services
 - on spread of Christianity
- Tetrarchy: municipal autonomy under
 - North African reforms of
 - restoration of order under
- texts, canonical: internalization of
- texts, North African: anonymous
 - attribution of
 - Donatist compendium of
 - ecclesiastical geography in
 - magistrates in
 - manuscript traditions of
 - survival of
 - transmission to Europe. *See also* Arians, texts by; Donatists, texts by; sermons, anonymous
- texts, patristic: electronic databases of
- textual communities
 - priests' role in
 - reform in
- Thébert, Y.
- Thibaris (Carthaginian *pagus*)

municipal status of
Thibilis (*pagus*, Cirta): inscriptions of
magistrates of
status of
Thimida Regia (*municipium*), Sunday services in
Third Augustan Legion
Thogonoetum (*fundus*): landlady of
suffragium populi at
Thomas, N.
Thompson, E.P.
Thrace, inscriptions of
Three Chapters (theological controversy)
Thugga (Dougga) region: archaeological survey
coarse-wares of
coinage of
handmade pottery of
impact of Roman rule on
metal objects of
Punic sites of
Slaves Serving Wine mosaic
Thullium (Numidia): Catholic Christians of
curator of
municipal status of
religious life at
Thusca: Punic administrative district of
Thysdrus (El Djem), Mosaic of the Bulls and the Banquet
Tiddis (*castellum*, Numidia)
coinage of
imports in
lamps of
market rights of
pottery kilns of
workshops of
Tigisi (Numidia): *civitas* status of
demotion in status
importance of
Justinian's fortification of
Phoenicians at
as *polis*
Tignica, inscriptions of
Tilley, Maureen
tombs: pottery from
Punic
trade, North African
in gold
trans-Saharan. *See also* economy; exports, North African

traditores, Christian
impure gifts of
tribes, North African
interior/exterior. *See also* Libyans; *praefecti gentis*
tribute: in early imperial era
Roman demands for

Tripolitania
datable sites of
pottery workshops of
settlement decline in. *See also* Libyan Valleys archaeological survey

Tripolitanian Red Slip ware
beginning date of
production of. *See also* pottery

Troussel, M.

Tuletianos (estate): magistrates of
priests' function at
as quasi-municipal community
tenants of. *See also* Albertini Tablets

Tuneba, Augustine's preaching at
tunicae exomides

Tunisia: under Byzantines
Carthaginians in
datable sites of
late Roman settlement in
pre-Roman settlements of
regional manufacturing in
Roman estates in
Roman government of
settlement growth in

Turres (village)

Turris Rutunda (estate), civic works of

Tyconius (Donatist)
Commentary on Revelations

Ucubi: inscriptions of
seniores of

undecimprimi (priests)
of Bisica

Uthina (Tunisia): fineware of
Fructus mosaic

Utica, archaeological survey
mosaics

Uzita: Punic pottery of

Valentinian III, *nummi* of

Vandals: archaeological findings on

- Christianity under
- civic life under
- coinage of
- early history of
- economy under
- North African churches under
- North Africa under
- Romanized
- Van Dam, Raymond
- Vazari (Africa Proconsularis), civic status of
- Vegesela (Numidia), bishop of
- verecundia*: Catholic undermining of
 - between peasants and landlords
- Verecundus, *Commentarii super cantica ecclesiastica*
- vessels: casserole
 - drinking
 - glass
 - in *Metamorphoses*
 - nonceramic. *See also* cooking ware; dining; pottery
- veteran colonies, North African
 - funerary inscriptions of
- Veyne, P.
- vici*: civic works of
 - on estates
 - founding of
 - names of
 - in North African texts
 - privileges of
 - quasi-urban
 - status under Roman empire
- Victor of Cartenna
- Victor of Vita
 - on *civitates*
 - on debt slavery
 - Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Africa*
- Victor Tonnennensis (bishop)
 - geographical terminology of
- villages, eastern Mediterranean
 - government of
- villages, of late antiquity
- villages, North African: access to ceramics
 - autonomy for
 - bishops of
 - Byzantine
 - castellum* as main term for
 - fineware of

- of imperial era
- loci* as
- magistrates of
- in *Metamorphoses*
- municipal status for
- petitions from
- prosperity in fourth century
- in second century C.E.
- self-governing
- under Severans
- transformation from villas
- unfortified. *See also castella*; rural communities

- villas, North African
 - bathhouses at
 - Carthaginian
 - material culture of
 - with roof tiles
 - tiled roofs of
 - transformation into villages. *See also estates*

- violence: Catholic
 - circumcellion
 - against *coloni*
 - against creditors
 - in episcopal elections
 - against magistrates
 - against pagans

- Virgil, *Georgics*

- virgins: enslavement of
 - seduction of. *See also sanctimoniales*

- Virtutes Heliae, Helisaei virtutes*

- Vita Aesopi*, peasant nonconsumption in

- Voconius (bishop)

- loss of works

- Volubilis (Mauretania Tingitana)

- decline of

- Volusianus (*fundus*), revenues of

- Wadi Umm el-Agerem, farmsteads of

- wage labor: forms of
 - of late Roman era
 - as means of workforce control
 - tenancy and

- Ward-Perkins, J.B.: *Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*

- wealth, North African: Roman stereotype of

- Wenk, W.

- Whittaker, C.R.: *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*

Wickham, Christopher
women, peasant: domestic production by
 in election of bishops. *See also sanctimoniales*
workshops, Egyptian
workshops, North African
 on estates
 export-oriented
 independent
 municipal
 nucleated. *See also* artisan industries; pottery workshops

Yucatan: ceramics of
 Native American economy in

Zacchaeus (New Testament tax collector), sermons on
Zana (Mauretania Caesariensis), Romano-Libyans of
Zubedi (*fundus*)
Zuritana, bishop of

~~Mention Pro~~
~~Display~~ Minion Pro
~~Westphaler~~ Book Group
~~Rolex~~ Engleman
~~Bit~~ Global binder